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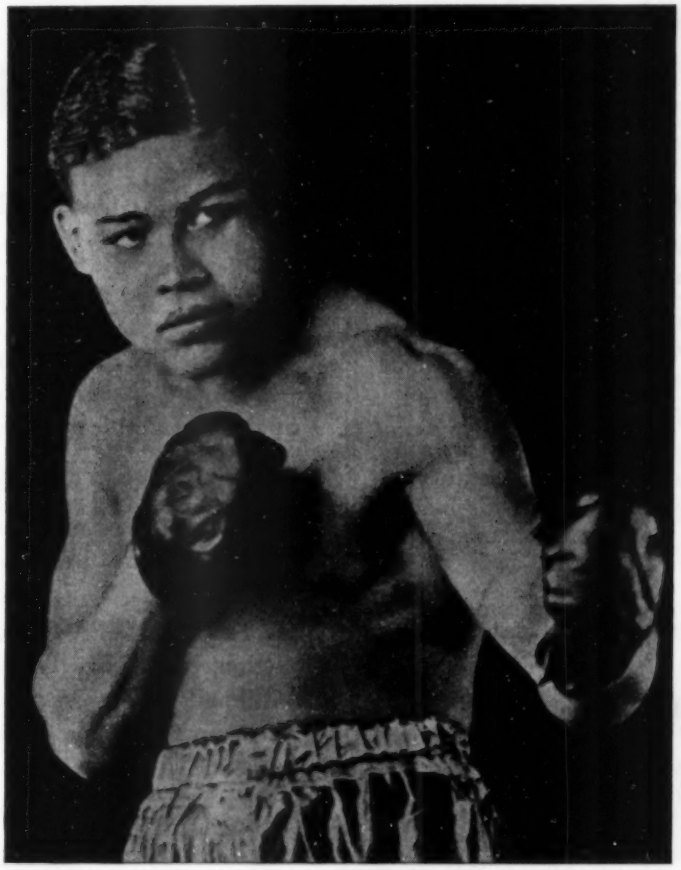

BROWN BOMBER JOE LOUIS

(Stone-faced, lethal robot bids for title—See page 165)

UNIONISM OUR ONLY HOPE

By Frank R. Crosswaith

RELIGION AND THE RACE PROBLEM

By John M. Cooper

SHARECROPPERS DROP COLOR LINE

By Ward H. Rodgers

30—YEARS OF SERVICE—30

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THE CRISIS

Founded 1910

REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

A Record of the Darker Races

ROY WILKINS, Managing Editor

ADVISORY BOARD

J. E. Spingarn *Dr. Louis T. Wright* *James Weldon Johnson* *Lewis Gannett* *Walter White*

Volume 42, No. 6 *Whole No. 294*

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THE CRISIS was founded in 1910. It is published monthly at 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., by Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The subscription price is $1.50 a year or 15c a copy. Foreign subscriptions $1.75. The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while THE CRISIS uses every care it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November 2, 1910, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879, and additional second class entry at Albany, N. Y.

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THE COVER

Joe Louis celebrated his twenty-first birthday Monday, May 13. He has scored 18 knockouts in 22 fights and is regarded as the finest heavyweight prospect of the day. He arrived in New York, May 15, to begin training for his bout with Primo Carnera at the Yankee Stadium, June 25. Louis has excited a great deal of comment because he does not "clown" in or out of the ring. He does not grin, and this characteristic has won for him the names, "stone-faced," "Buddha-faced." He is described as a serious, deadly, machine-like fighter who works on his opponents like a robot. Different also from other Negro challengers, Louis is managed and trained by colored men from his home town of Detroit. The winner of the Louis-Carnera fight will meet the winner of the Baer-Braddock fight for the heavyweight championship of the world. Max Baer, the present champion, has stated that he will not draw the color line against Louis if the latter wins the right to fight him.

COMING FEATURES

Next month THE CRISIS will present selected pictures of homes owned by colored people over the country, from the photographs sent to us. There is still time to send a photo. It must reach THE CRISIS office by June 1.

●

In the July issue there will be a story "Masquerade" by Isabel Thompson.

●

The August issue will be the usual annual education number and in addition to photographs of graduates and statistics on college men and women, there will be an article by Charles H. Thompson on segregated schools. There will also be an article on the interracial debates between Wiley College and other schools. We hope to have an article on the changing attitude upon Negro campuses toward the questions of labor and capital, war and peace.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Frank R. Crosswaith is a general organizer for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and has been active in the trade union movement for many years.

●

Ward H. Rodgers was jailed in Arkansas in January for his efforts to organize white and Negro tenant farmers into a union to get better treatment from the plantation owners. He was born and educated in the South.

●

Dr. John M. Cooper is professor of anthropology at the Catholic University of America in Washington, D. C.

●

William Pickens, author, lecturer and traveler, is field secretary of the N.A.A.C.P.

●

Thyra J. Edwards is a social worker and student of labor problems.

●

Gwendolyn Bennett is a writer and critic.

●

Mercer Cook is a member of the faculty of Howard university studying this year in Paris.

Trade Unionism—Our Only Hope

By Frank R. Crosswaith

THE talented and popular Miss Thyra J. Edwards of Chicago rendered invaluable service to Negro toilers when, in the March issue of THE CRISIS, she related the plight of several hundred cotton garment workers employed in the factories of B. Sopkin & Sons on Chicago's famous South Side. Because it was factual and scholarly, Miss Edwards' article has alarmed the Sopkins clan and brought to their defense several of their intellectual and servile hirelings.

Unable to meet with intelligent and honest argument the powerful indictment of Miss Edwards, these "hired heads" have resorted to all kinds of subterfuges and spurious reasonings in order to make out a justifiable case for the continued economic crucifixion of the Negro girls who work for Sopkins. These modern "Iscariots" have even lent their names to articles and letters which I firmly believe they did not write themselves.

What is supposed to be a reply to Miss Edwards' article appeared in the April issue of THE CRISIS bearing the title: "Thumbs Down on Unions." The alleged author of the reply is a Mr. J. Wellington Evans. Whether the 'J' in the name stands for "Judas" or "Jumbie" we do not know. Nevertheless, either title would aptly fit the man and his so-called reply. Apparently Shakespeare had J. Wellington in mind when he said "With devotion's visage and pious words we do sugar over the devil himself."

Mr. Evans alleges to be an employee of B. Sopkin & Sons. Albeit, he does not confine his reply to a defense of Sopkin's company union—the existence of which he denies in one breadth while in the next he speaks of a fellow employee as "chairman of our section representation committee"—(sic!) but he also inveighs against *all* unions. It would have been most enlightening to the readers of THE CRISIS if the gentleman, or whoever wrote the reply for him, had explained why, during my presence in Chicago, the Negro girls who work for Sopkin were made to wear armbands proclaiming their loyalty to Sopkin. Perhaps Mr. Evans failed to deal with this fact because he recalls that during slavery it was the practice of slave holders to brand their slaves with a hot iron in order to indicate ownership of them; and thus, he realizes that while Sopkin's method of indicating ownership is more modern and less cruel, it is nevertheless equally offensive to civilized people who possess a sense of pride and respect for the womanhood of their race.

Mr. Crosswaith is a general organizer for the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and has been active in labor movements for many years

Frank R. Crosswaith

I arrived in Chicago early in the month of August of last year. As a general organizer of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union I was sent to assist the local units of our International in their organizing campaign there. My instructions were to give special attention to the workers in the cotton garment trade. The I.L.G.W.U. was seeking to remove these workers from under the jurisdiction of the pauperizing low wages and hourage levels of the Cotton Garment code and bring them under the dress code where they would be the beneficiaries of higher standards. A high percentage of cotton goods workers in the large garment centers are Negroes.

"Loyalty" Campaign

Twenty-four hours after my arrival, the South Side of Chicago was flooded with circulars calling upon all Negroes to be "loyal" to Sopkin. Stoolpigeons were engaged to cover my meetings. My hotel room was watched day and night to observe if any of Sopkin's workers visited me. The Communists also issued circulars warning the workers of Sopkin against me and the I.L.G.W.U. In addition, a "loyalty week" campaign was inaugurated. Store windows, church doors, homes, porches, fences, and even trees were liberally bedecked with placards pleading with the people of the South Side to "be loyal to your job." Ministers nightly preached eloquent "loyalty sermons" to their congregations. The cost of these sermons to Sopkin we have not yet been able to ascertain. We do know, however, that to the over-worked, underpaid and terrorized Negro girls who work for Sopkin the cost was high.

Realizing that preachers still exercise influence over the race, the service of two alleged "Reverends" was commandeered. These two "Men of the Cloth" struck out valiantly for dear old "Loyalty" and "almighty gold" by issuing daily bulletins in which they attacked everybody and everything that did not represent B. Sopkin & Sons. From a reliable source I later learned that one of these "Reverends" was an ex-convict who served time for picking pockets. While in prison this brother "got a call to preach" and he has been preaching the gospel according to Sopkin and other sweat shoppers ever since he was paroled. If the "Reverend" is still engaged in picking pockets he apparently confines his art to Sopkin and to the Negro girls who slave for him.

This ecclesiastical burglar was eely enough to secure the signatures of some legitimate and highly respected clergymen of Chicago to a leaflet reading in part as follows: ". . . The deadly poison, equally destructive to soul and body, which those evil forces (Union organizers) pour out should never be allowed to find a recess in your splendid character and strong faith. They aim to undermine your faith in God, country and fellow men. Heed them not. . . ." The clergymen who signed the above drivel did so "for the cause of the race," so they said. In addition to these ministerial patriots (pay-triots) of Sopkin's, all Negro journals in Chicago except the *Defender*, were enlisted to do battle against the pagan propaganda of an unarmed Negro labor organizer. One such journal went into literary ecstasy and rhapsodized in the following manner, "Oh God! Give us more Sopkins and less Crosswaiths." This journal, by the way, stands for *"Race, first, last and always."* (Sopkins is white.)

The depths of venality and betrayal were plumbed, however, when the ever

available services of an able and experienced Negro publicist and reputed handyman for open-shoppers were utilized to write "Gestures In Good Will." The expensive booklet which he produced portrays Mr. Ben Sopkin—whose smiling features adorn the first page—as the man who should come next to Jesus Christ and Abraham Lincoln in the affection and esteem of Chicago Negroes. Ironically enough, the author quotes the Good Gray Poet—Edwin Markham, in the following verse:

"There is a destiny that makes us brothers,
"None goes his way alone.
"All that we send into the lives of others
"Comes back into our own."

Anti-Trade Union Pleas

It should be obvious to readers of THE CRISIS that the opposition to unionization of the Chicago Negro garment workers was inspired and paid for by those who are amassing great fortunes from the labor of unorganized Negro workers. How else can one explain the vicious and senseless opposition of Negro journals, clergymen, some social workers and others in Chicago to a labor union such as the International Ladies Garment Workers Union? Four months before my arrival in Chicago in June, 1934, the I.L.G.W.U. had again demonstrated its traditionally sound position regarding the rights of Negroes. At a cost of several thousand dollars it removed its convention from the Medinah Club to the Morrison Hotel when Negro delegates were discriminated against by the club's management. The paid apologists for Sopkin try to justify their opposition to trade unionism on the grounds that, (a) "A union implies employer and employee organized in warring factions," while a company union is symbolic of peace and "friendship." (b) "That labor unions discriminate against Negroes."

Among intelligent people self-interest is generally recognized as a most potent factor in determining the conduct and attitude of men. Normal minded individuals engage in conduct harmful to their interest only when they do not understand their interest. From this fact flows the principal of collective action on the part of two or more individuals who have interests in common. It would be unusual for Mr. Sopkin or anyone else in a similar position, to welcome the organization of his employees into a bona fide labor organization; for he understands too well his self-interest. He knows that his interest in cotton garments is measured in terms of profits. He also knows that his measure of profit will be high when the cost of producing these garments is relatively low. He further knows that the productive cost will be low when the wages paid his workers are low.

On the other hand, the workers are not interested in high profits for Mr. Sopkin but rather in high wages for themselves as workers. Thus we have two opposing interests. Experience shows that an individual can best protest and enhance his interest when he joins with others whose interests are like his own. It is a recognition of this fundamental principle that justifies religious and cultural organizations, chambers of commerce, educational societies, social clubs, manufacturers associations, political parties, etc. This is also the principle upon which labor organizations are predicated. That workers can and do realize higher wages, greater security on the job and reduce their work day through organized action is a fact too well known to merit an extended argument here.

These Pied Pipers of the open-shoppers say they prefer a company union because it indicates "friendship" instead of class hatred. The recent spectacle of southern white farmers riding through Negro communities exhorting and aiding Negro farmers to vote on the Bankhead bill should serve to show how utterly unreliable is "friendship" as a basis upon which to trust one's self-interest. Those same white farmers, until they discovered that their interest was identical with the interest of Negro farmers, were opposed to Negroes even looking at a ballot box in Dixie—to say nothing of actually voting. Many a man has enjoyed the friendship of

(*Continued on page* 187)

Dressmakers Union, Local 22, I.L.G.W.U. 1934–35, *New York City. Bottom row, third from left: Ethel Atwell; second from right: Lillian Gaskin*

Sharecroppers Drop Color Line

By Ward H. Rodgers

Undoubtedly the most significant labor development in recent months is the organization of the mixed Southern Tenant Farmers' Union in Arkansas. Ward H. Rodgers, one of its organizers, who was jailed for his activity, tells about it

ALL too few have been the attempts in the South, or for that matter in the North, to organize labor unions which include both the Negro and the white workers. The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union has from its beginning attempted to solve the difficulties of organizing across the race line. After eight months of work we now have 10,000 members, half of whom are Negro sharecroppers. During these months we have had practically no friction within the Union over the race question. Some of our best leaders are members of the Negro race. Metropolitan newspapers noted that our Negro leader, Mr. E. B. McKinney, could express himself better than the white members of the committee that came to New York City to raise funds for the Union. I mention this only to say that it has been my observation that the Negro sharecroppers ordinarily are as qualified for leadership as the white sharecroppers.

Because of his long experience in other organizations, such as churches, burial societies, fraternal organizations and the like, the Negro generally knows how to run meetings as they should be run. Practically the only organization that the white sharecroppers have had experience in outside of the churches is the Klu Klux Klan, therefore they have not had training in correct procedures at meetings. The only explanation that I have for sharecroppers joining our interracial organization who used to show their race prejudice by being members of the night riding K.K.K., is that they have learned that both white and Negro sharecroppers are the victims of the same system of exploitation, both Negro and white suffer from the same "belly hunger." The sharecroppers, regardless of color, have been deprived of a living which certainly they work hard enough to earn. Both races have been driven down to a low economic level of bare existence. The white sharecropper also is discriminated against and insulted. The word sharecropper itself has come to be used as a term of contempt. In the minds of the ruling class of eastern Arkansas, he is a "lazy, shiftless fellow," a social outcaste.

Race Bugaboo Fails

The planters and their agents, the sheriffs and riding bosses, have tried repeatedly to break the Union by the use of the "equality" red-herring. In this attempt they have been unsuccessful. Even the Governor of Arkansas in a hearing told Norman Thomas, "You can't preach social equality in Arkansas, nor can you preach economic equality." The Union leaders months before had known that pressure would be put on at this link in our chain, therefore, the sharecroppers of both races were warned that the race issue would be used in a campaign to divide the Union.

The argument against race prejudice which has been used by the organizers is: "If we organize only a Union of Negro sharecroppers then the Negroes will be evicted and white sharecroppers from the hill-country or the unemployed in Memphis will take their places. If on the other hand we organize only a Union of white sharecroppers then the white men will be evicted and Negro sharecroppers from Mississippi and the unemployed in Memphis will take their places." The above statement was understood by the sharecroppers to mean that their only chance of winning would be for each race to forget prejudices and build an organization of all sharecroppers, day-laborers, managing share tenants, and small land owners who are "dirt farmers" without regard to race. Over and over again the sharecroppers in the STFU were warned not to let themselves be divided on the race issue. This they have been able to do in spite of ridicule, insults and slander from individual planters and deputy sheriffs, as well as the bombasts of the planter-controlled *Commercial Appeal* of Memphis.

A sharecropper is a "dirt farmer" who receives as his wages one-half of the cotton crop, minus "deducts." He does not own anything. The planter furnishes the land, team, tools and seed and receives half of the cotton crop for his share. A sharecropper works from 10 to 25 acres of land. Most sharecroppers do not have an adequate supply of cows, hogs and chickens. He lives in a shack that leaks, the doors do not fit, the walls and floor let the wind come straight through and the windows do not have screens. The sharecropper is forced to buy from a commissary store, also is charged from ten cents to twenty-five cents on the dollar. The plantation owner often figures the accounts with a crooked pencil and the sharecropper has difficulty getting his share of the government acreage reduction money. When he does stand up for his rights and demands his share, he is evicted at the first opportunity.

Secretary Wallace admitted in his speech in Maine, April 17, the truth of our contention that, "The South had had its income cut down to the point where the average income of a cotton grower is $250." It is this great injustice that has caused the sharecroppers, who are the "dirt farmers" of the South, to organize the STFU instead of the agitation of "communistic and socialistic gentlemen" which Wallace charges.

Wallace's agriculture program has aggravated the situation rather than helped it. The most important grievances of the STFU grow out of Wallace's program.

AAA Aggravates Condition

The complaints from the Cotton Acreage Reduction Contract have been the grievances that have built the STFU. They are briefly, disputes over the use of the government rented acres. (1) The sharecropper and the tenants are supposed to have the use of the government-rented acres, rent free for food and feed crops for home consumption. He pays for the use of the team and tools. Most planters have demanded that these food and feed crops be sharecropped as usual, which means that both the sharecropper and the government pay rent on the same land. (2) The sharecropper is supposed to have wood from the plantation wood lot. Many plantation owners have been selling the wood to the sharecroppers in violation of the cotton acreage reduction contract. (3) The planters attempted to force all sharecroppers to sign papers making the planter guardian over them, which makes it possible for the crooked planters to sell the cotton at a price above what he told the sharecropper. This caused much hard feeling, the sharecropper insists on selling his own crops and tending to his own business affairs. Many hundreds of sharecroppers in Eastern Arkansas were forced to sign these guardianship papers, the AAA has not fined these planters $1000 each for forcing sharecroppers to sign, as the government contract requires. (4) We have a list of 300 sharecroppers who have been evicted in our particular area. They are men who demanded fair settlements. There

were this winter 40 families around Marked Tree, Ark., at one time, who were piled up in each other's houses, two and three families to a house, as a result of vicious evictions. The Transient Bureau of Memphis has 531 families who have been forced off the plantations. (5) Government money from the processing tax was distributed $8 to the plantation owner for every $1 to the sharecropper. The latter insists that this is an unfair division. (6) Many sharecroppers did not even receive this dribble from the processing tax, because their part came through the hands of the plantation owners who have glue on their fingers. (7) Neither white nor Negro sharecroppers were allowed to be represented on the local agricultural board to enforce the AAA contract. (8) The status of sharecroppers has been changed to day-laborers in order for the planter to get the government money. (9) Managing share tenants were reported to the government as sharecroppers by planters, thus the planter received government benefits that should go to the managing share tenants.

Old Plantation Evils

Besides the complaints that have arisen as a result of the Triple A program of the Roosevelt government, the following evils of the plantation system have kept the "emancipated" sharecroppers in debt, poverty and peonage since the Civil War and are continuing to do so. (1) Sharecroppers obtain "furnish" or credit from the plantation owners and are charged from ten cents to twenty-five cents on the dollar for this service. (2) Many plantations use "doodlum books," commissary coupons, instead of United States currency, thus forcing the sharecropper to trade at a particular store. (3) The commissary store charges from fifteen per cent to fifty per cent higher prices than the regular stores. (4) Settlements at the end of the year are often figured with a "crooked pencil" to keep the sharecropper in debt.

In 1919 Negro sharecroppers in Phillips County, Ark., organized the Progressive Farmers and Labor Household Union of America, incorporated under the laws of Arkansas, in order to obtain settlements. This resulted in the Elaine Massacre, five whites and fifty Negroes were killed. It was called at the time a "white massacre!" The N.A.A.C.P. defended and freed some 800 Negro victims, twelve of whom were sentenced to death and sixty-seven were sentenced to twenty-one years in prison. After legal battles extending over a period of four years, the N.A.A.C.P. won the above cases. The Arkansas Supreme Court reversed the death sentences *on the ground that Negroes had been excluded from juries in Phillips County in contravention of the fourteenth Amendment and the Civil Rights Acts of* 1875, a precedent for the Scottsboro case. Later the cases were taken to the U. S. Supreme Court and again the N.A.A.C.P. won. The decision (*Moore* v. *Dempsey*, 261 U. S. 86) was epoch making in deciding that a trial dominated by mob sentiment was not due process of law, and reversed the U. S. Supreme Court itself in its decision in the Leo Frank case. This struggle of Arkansas sharecroppers obtained for them the "settlements" that are now figured with a "crooked pencil."

The STFU is struggling in this same region of planter terror. Fortunately our organization is inter-racial in character which is the best insurance against a race riot because the white sharecropper would be the first to be called by the planters to lynch leaders of a "Negro Union." Now the planters have to do their own dirty work. (5) Day labor is paid only fifty cents to seventy-five cents per day. Each sharecropper usually does some day labor for the plantation besides putting in his crop. Several plantations switched entirely to day labor in order to receive all of the Crop Reduction Benefits. The day laborer works from sun to sun. (6) Plantation owners do not allow sharecroppers to plant enough garden and truck patches. Rarely do the sharecroppers have pastures for cows, instead they stake their cows up and down the highways. (7) Plantation owners control the local politics, and through it the FERA, thus they manage to keep relief work down in order to keep wages at the fifty cents level. (8) Negro sharecroppers are not allowed to vote even if they pay their poll taxes. This is done by the threat of lynching being held over the Negro's head. Many Negroes in Memphis and Little Rock vote, but the rural Negro is not allowed to do so. (9) Planters maintain control of the local courts thus preventing the white and Negro sharecroppers from getting justice either in criminal or civil disputes.

Reign of Terror

One of the results of the policies of the AAA in the South is a virtual reign of terror carried on by the cotton planters against the sharecroppers who have sought to have the government contract enforced. The Administration's policy of acreage reduction is being administered by Secretary Wallace, perhaps the most socially-minded member of the Roosevelt regime. But the fact is that the sharecroppers, who own practically nothing and need help more than any other section of the population, face eviction; and when they organized into a union, the present terror started.

The STFU was organized last July, 1934. We had a rapid growth to 6,000 members in January, 1935. Soon after we started a Negro organizer was horsewhipped by a deputy sheriff and a white organizer forced to leave that section of the state. In November four sharecroppers were arrested for "disturbing labor" and "collecting money under false pretenses." We were unable to raise bond and three stayed in jail forty-five days and one twenty-three days before bail could be found. Mrs. Mills, the wife of one of the prisoners, became sick with pellagra while her husband was in jail which aided our ability to raise bail money. Later it was discovered that four members of the family of eight had pellagra. Mr. Mills, during his twenty-three days in jail, gained fifteen pounds. A school teacher who was used to having plenty of food lost five pounds while on jail fare only nine days. It is needless to say that many of the Mills' meals often consisted of only "biscuits and white gravy." In February we won the cases of "collecting money under false pretenses" and the "disturbing labor" charge was postponed. Early in January we sent a committee of five to Washington to carry out grievances directly to the secretary of agriculture. On January 15 they made their report to a mass meeting of 800 sharecroppers at Marked Tree.

He Called Negroes "Mr."

I had been teaching in the FERA Workers Education program members of the STFU. I had two Negro classes and three white clases. I was teaching economics, current events, and English. On January 14 my Negro class near Tyronza was "investigated" by the school board, who had no authority to do so. They complained because I was a Socialist and because I was a white man teaching Negroes. The latter was the more "unpardonable" in their minds. The next morning I tried to straighten things out with the superintendent of schools, Mr. R. A. Lynch of Tyronza. He threatened me with the K.K.K. H. L. Mitchell, the executive secretary of the Union, took the threat seriously. Therefore Mitchell and I brought it up that afternoon at the mass meeting. I spoke on the relief situation, telling the actual conditions of suffering, the dis-

(*Continued on page* 178)

EDUCATION NUMBER

The August issue of THE CRISIS will contain, as usual, a review, with pictures, of college graduates. All material and photographs for this number must be in our office by July 1.

Religion and the Race Problem

By John M. Cooper

MAN is a wolf to man,—but not always nor to all men. The wolf of the market-place may be a lamb at his own fireside. The ruthless exploiter of labor, the rapacious ringleader in cutthroat industrial competition, may be a kindly, affectionate and unselfish husband and father. The wolf in man comes out more in his relations to those of groups other than his own,—to those of other social and economic classes, of other nations, of other peoples, of other races. His wolfish fangs are particularly apt to be bared to those of other racial groups. It is the wolfishness of race to race, especially of the white race to the Negro race in our country, that I wish to discuss this morning.

Underlying racial wolfishness are many factors. I shall take up two of the chief ones,—the white man's assumption of racial superiority, and his tacit or explicit acceptance of the double moral code.

First, the white man's assumption of physical and mental superiority to the Negro. Which of the two types, white or Negro, is superior in the sense of being physically farther removed from the animal? The narrower and more projecting nose and more upright forehead of the white man are less animal-like than the Negro's broader and flatter nose and more receding forehead. On the other hand, the thinner lips and less tightly curled hair of the white man are more animal-like than the full red lips and the woolly hair texture of the Negro. These contrasts could be multiplied, but, all in all, as regards nearness to or distance from sub-human animal forms, the total scores of the two races seem pretty nearly even.

We of the white race seem to prefer our bleached skin,—although we are not quite sure of ourselves and our preferences, to judge from the pains we take at our summer resorts to acquire a skin color that will bring us closer in shade to that of the African. In any case it may be said of skin bleaching, what has been said of the removal of adenoids, that it is not automatically followed by a rush of brains to the head.

Those Intelligence Tests

Intellectually is the white race on the average superior to the Negro race? We have a number of comparative intelligence tests of whites and Negroes. The majority but not all, of these tests reveal higher gross average scores for the whites. But are these higher scores

The Reverend Mr. Cooper is professor of anthropology at the Catholic University of America at Washington, D. C. This is a speech he delivered over a nation-wide network of the Columbia Broadcasting System, May 5

due to higher racial ability or to ampler opportunities for education and advancement? The rapidly accumulating evidence is pointing more and more unmistakably towards the conclusion that the differences in the scores are due, certainly very largely and not improbably quite entirely, not to differences in racial ability between whites and Negroes but to differences in racial opportunities. And we have further to recall that in some of the tests it is the Negro and not the white who has come out with the higher score.

It may be said, however, that at any rate the Negro in his native Africa has not achieved much in the way of scientific and cultural advance. It is undoubtedly true that Negro Africa has not exerted a profound influence on the development of western civilization. One very simple reason for this, however, is that Negro Africa was until relatively recent centuries almost completely isolated from the area of western civilization. The Negro in Africa has developed a very remarkable civilization of his own. He is no wandering savage. He is an expert farmer and herder and a highly skilled craftsman. He has his own well-developed arts of music and carving. He has worked out most advanced types of social, economic, legal and political institutions. He has an unwritten literature that is often characterized by exquisite beauty as well as by brilliant creativeness. It should be sobering to all of us who are the descendants of white races of northern and northwestern Europe to recall that for many thousands of years,—ten thousand years at least,—up to about four or five hundred years ago, the contribution of our own ancestors to human achievement in general and to western civilization in particular was very close to nil. In order to draw any logical inference as to comparative racial intelligence from the assumed fact that the Negro has not independently built up a great civilization in his African homeland, we should have to prove the following very odd proposition, "That a race should go along for 9,500 years without making outstanding cultural achievements is no sign that native intelligence is lacking; but if a race goes along 10,000 years without making outstanding cultural achievements, this is evidence that native intelligence is lacking." Obviously a proposition of this kind does not make sense. Yet it is just on this and similar types of loose reasoning that many have held cultural achievement or the lack thereof to be a reliable yardstick for measuring the comparative mental calibre of races.

The sum of the matter is that in the present state of our evidence neither white nor Negro can be scientifically proven to be superior or inferior one to the other. There is available today no scientific evidence bearing on the problem that can stand five minutes of close analysis. Scientifically we just do not know which, if either, race, is superior or inferior on the average. The compelling probabilities are that the differences, if there be any differences, are not great. Furthermore there is no safe bet on which side the superiority will be found, if any ever is found.

So much for the first of the two factors underlying our white racial wolfishness as regards our Negro fellow-citizens. Let us pass to the second factor, the double code.

Brotherhood Narrowed

By the double code we do not mean the double sex code, but rather the broader double code under which we respect the rights of those of our own group and have little or no respect for the rights of those who belong to groups other than our own. Everywhere the world over, among all peoples of all levels and types of civilization and lack of it, we find this code in vigor. It is nothing new. Its origins are lost in the mists of prehistory. It goes back as far and spreads out as widely as does humanity itself. All in all it is perhaps the most striking feature of the moral history and prehistory of humanity.

The Christian moral code and this primitive but still prevalent double moral code are obviously in flat contradiction one to the other. The double code runs: Only those of my own narrow little circle of family, kin, friendship, nation and race are my brothers; outsiders are not. The Christian code runs: There is neither Greek nor barbarian, neither Jew nor Gentile, neither white nor Negro; we are all brothers under the skin, brothers to one another and to one Elder Brother who lived and died for all of

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Will Vincent Imitate Machado?

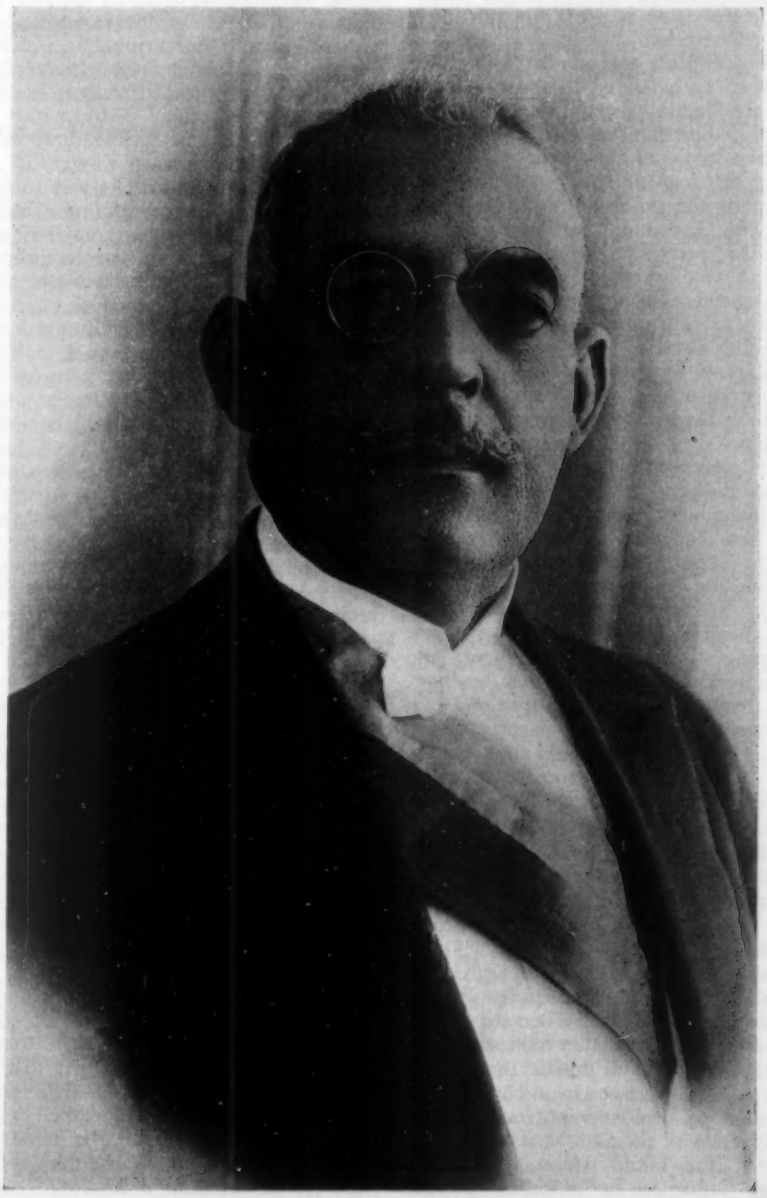
By William Pickens

Mr. Pickens spent several weeks in Haiti last winter and details here his fears that Haiti's present government may precipitate trouble by trying to perpetuate itself

ON the first Saturday night of January, 1935, Député Laguerre of the Haitian national assembly, together with his father, brother, and other relatives and friends, was shot to death at a dance in Bainet, in the very section of Haiti that had sent him to the legislature years before. To the casual observer from the United States that would mean simply another bloody brawl of primitive people, more given to direct action than to judicial procedure. But to one who was in Haiti at the time, and who had just been talking with its President and other leading men in an effort to prevent the possible calamity which this tragedy foreshadows, it means much more: In the first place, Laguerre and his political supporters were wiped out in this fight *by his political opponents*, led by his cousin; and in the second place, Laguerre belonged to the political faction which is supporting President Vincent's ambitions to succeed himself, in spite of the constitutional provision that Presidents in Haiti are "ineligible for immediate re-election;" and in the third place, Laguerre was one of the thirty deputies who had just been reported in Port au Prince papers to have signed a communication calling upon President Vincent to "assume full powers,"——in other words, to become a dictator, to disregard or change the constitution, and to stay in office, much as Machado did in Cuba. Laguerre was not in Bainet to attend a dance: he was there to begin his campaign for re-election to the assembly, in support of President Vincent, and was invited to this dance and killed. It may have been a decoy. The visitor soon learns that the Haitian people do not like *re-elections* anyway: on January first, during the rousing celebration of *l'independence*, some one in a crowded square had cried out, "Vive l'election!" (meaning the re-election movement for Vincent) and immediately from some hand behind him a long knife sank into his back. Not only do the leading politicians and statesmen of Haiti dislike re-elections, but the masses, the rabble, have the same aversion. Why? The history of Haiti is the answer: so often the fellow who got into power, with a definite term of office set for him, became so fond of his supremacy that he immediately began to consolidate his position to hold to it. Haiti, therefore, like many other small states of Latin America, has acquired a reputation for being revolutionary by nature, although most of these "revolutions" were the instinctive efforts of the people to maintain their liberties against what appeared to them as a mean usurpation of power.

A Term of Six Years

One such revolt against a bloody tyrant brought in the American marines in 1915, but finally the people of Haiti, with the help of many friends in the United States, got rid of the Occupation and made definite terms for the withdrawal of the marines. In 1930, Stenio Vincent, having been one of the leading lights of l'Union Patriotique, the society that had worked to re-establish Haitian sovereignty, was elected President. A new constitution was made and President Roosevelt withdrew the



President Stenio Vincent of the Republic of Haiti

marines in 1934, somewhat ahead of the agreed time. The people of Haiti did not forget the lesson of their experience of a century and a quarter, and in section one, chapter two of their new constitution, they decreed:

> Article 76. The President of the Republic is elected for six years; he is not immediately re-eligible. He takes his office on the 16th of May of the year of his election, unless he is elected to fill out a vacancy; in that case, he takes office from the date of his election and his term comes to an end six years after, counting from the 15th of May which precedes his election.

This rule clearly intends to give a president six years to carry out his program, and then to prevent his standing for re-election because of the more than ninety per cent of advantage which his position gives him over any opponent. Provision is made for amending this constitution, but it is made extremely difficult and almost impossible for it to be amended to the benefit of the presidential incumbent, unless he has with him the majority in two consecutive national assemblies: for the out-going legislature would have to denounce the provision to be amended and the in-coming legislature would have to enact the amendment. The same assembly cannot both denounce and amend, which gives the people a chance to express themselves in an intervening election. The present assembly expires in 1936, as does President Vincent's term. The new president must be elected by the new congress; therefore President Vincent could not lawfully succeed himself unless he could induce the present congress to denounce the ineligibility clause, and then induce the new congress to amend the constitution and re-elect him on April 10th, so that he could take office May 15, 1936. But there is the rub: some claim that the FIRST BUSINESS of a new congress is to elect a president, and only then to proceed to other business, like that of amending constitutions. Of course the pro-Vincent faction claims that a new congress could first enact a new law and then immediately afterwards elect or re-elect the President.

But even if this latter interpretation of the constitution prevailed, the senate or the present assembly seems to be in no mood to join the deputies in denouncing the provision against re-election. And the great men of Haiti who are outside of the administration are very much opposed to re-election, so it is doubtful whether Mr. Vincent could get a new assembly that would elect him without the use of unfair pressure at the polling places. In a small state, through political appointments and the domination of the army and even of the courts, the administration party has great influence in so-called popular elections. The ensuing year is therefore a dangerous one in Haitian politics and a fateful one for Haitian sovereignty: for although the marines are gone, the United States still has in charge of the finances of the Island republic a dictatorial financial adviser, nominated (which means really chosen) by the President of the United States and appointed by the President of Haiti. If trouble starts, of course, American *money* will get protection.

A Guard Against Revolutions

Whoever suggested this six-year one-term provision, was trying to make a fool-proof rule to prevent revolutions by preventing presidents from keeping themselves in office. In conversation with President Vincent in January, I got the definite conviction that he meant to do his best to succeed himself in office, although he was somewhat evasive about answering the direct question. He would only acknowledge that he meant to proceed "only in accord with the constitution," — by which a politician means that he intends to take the office if he can in any way get it. I had already learned that he was toying with the idea of getting around a balky senate by referring the constitutional provision to a plebiscite or referendum; and when I frankly called his attention to the fact that the friends of Haiti in the United States are becoming concerned lest his country should make a serious mistake in the first term of its restored sovereignty, he let slip a remark about "the people being above the constitution." I am sure that I have heard that before: it is always the resort of those who want something that the constitution, or the rules of the game, forbid them to take. The framers of the constitution did not risk amendments by plebiscite but left that to the more considered judgment of the representatives of the people, because of the power and influence of the incumbent in a small state.

I called Mr. Vincent's attention to the fact that the reputation of small states for being "revolutionary" is so often chargeable to the fact that the heads of such states try to perpetuate their personal power. Mr. Vincent, for example, not only controls the armed forces but also most of the politicians of Haiti. Even in larger countries the average politician is of a self-seeking, non-resistive type; and in a small state with so few educated people, most of them can be garnered into the administration machine by political appointments. That becomes another source of danger, for these satellites fear that by any change they may lose their positions, and so they hedge their chief about with intrigue and the flattering suggestion that he is the one man necessary for the salvation of his country and should stay at his post. They tell him that "the people" want him, and that the alternative is chaos and disaster. It is easy to persuade a fellow that the people want him to keep what he very much likes to have. Mr. Vincent has enjoyed an era of peace so far, but does not seem to realize how much it is due to the fact that the other Haitian leaders expected him to obey both the spirit and the letter of the constitution, and were looking forward to the end of his administration. He has been reading about Mussolini and Hitler and perhaps misjudges Roosevelt's position,—and so the President of Haiti has conceived notions.

Martial Law Against Youths

Already we have one outrageous result of this violation of trust. In 1934 eight young men of Haiti, intelligent and well-connected were sent to long prison terms for mere liberal and radical propaganda. In the case of only one of them was the charge enhanced by the name of "plot" against the government. They were all convicted under martial law,—military courts in Haiti so soon after the marines! Seven of them were convicted because their names were signed to an article which appeared in the "Cris des Negres," published in Paris, France. The article accused President Vincent of wasting public funds and of having been really unwilling to get rid of the American marines because the foreign soldiers supported his power. Even if these accusations were false, it is not treason to make them! We will say much worse things about Franklin D. Roosevelt and hardly attract attention. But the head of a small state is very sensitive to criticism, especially when he plans to succeed himself without having a clear constitutional right to do so. Some of these young men are relatives of the leaders opposed to the administration: Their names are—Joseph Jolibois, Alphonse Henriquez, Max Hudicourt, Georges Petit, Saturnin Francois, Arthur Massante and Jean Brierre; and the eighth, who was charged with "communist plot," is the leading literary light of the country, Jacques Roumain. Imagine Mr. Roosevelt's being able to imprison the sons of opposition senators for mere political attacks, and by martial law!

How did Vincent do it? Learning that "subversive" activity was going on, especially among those who did not want any re-election, the administration forces moved to declare a state of siege in the Department of the West, which includes the capital, Port au Prince, the political and economic heart of Haiti. Think of it! A state of siege because of political agitation and propaganda and plotting,—not plotting against the state but against the political interests of the administration. But there was method

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Who Is Disinterested?

By Thyra J. Edwards

In the April Crisis Mr. Evans had an article, "Thumbs Down on Unions!" in which he took Miss Edwards sharply to task for her previous article on the company union in a garment factory in Chicago and its treatment of colored women workers. This is Miss Edwards's rebuttal

J. WELLINGTON EVANS lives in Chicago.

J. Wellington Evans is a cutter in the employ of the Ben J. Sopkin Shops.

In private life J. Wellington Evans is the son of the Reverend Joseph W. Evans.

The Reverend Joseph W. Evans, pastor of the Metropolitan Community Church at 4100 South Parkway, was chairman of the Citizen's Committee selected by Ben J. Sopkin to "arbitrate" the strike of June, 1933.

It was in the Reverend Joseph W. Evans' Metropolitan Community Church that the Sopkin's Loyalty mass meeting was staged on the evening of Friday, October 5, 1934. At which mass meeting Negro employees of Mr. Sopkin, wearing the arm bands described in a previous article, were brought in to hear South Side leaders testify to the noble paternalism of the Sopkin institution. It is the established custom that rental fees are paid to churches for such use.

It is therefore gross effrontery to the intelligence of the Negro community that Mr. Sopkin should select the father of an employee to head his "arbitration" committee and to promote his interests. A greater finesse is used by most firms who do not permit employees or members of an employee's family to enter even such non-controversial situations as competing for prizes.

No attempt is being made here to challenge the personal integrity of Miss Jennie Lawrence. Her professional status as a social worker is another matter. It is most certainly dubious and questionable. For social work today is a standardized and regulated profession just as teaching, nursing and the practice of medicine. Definite qualification and training are required. Mr. Evans failed to point out any such equipment on the part of Miss Lawrence. Nor did he show that she had ever been employed by any recognized social agency.

Incidentally the contest which Mr. Evans states occurred April 2 (1934) was advertised in the Chicago *World* issue of October 6, 1934. Obviously we are not discussing the same contest.

As for the ten cents weekly dues—I have that information from Miss Lawrence herself. I should like, therefore, that the promised "fifty sound American dollars" be used as the nucleus for a defense fund to be raised for the Moslems who were recently sentenced to imprisonment from a Chicago Court in a meleé in which the *unarmed* Moslems were held in the shooting of an *armed* bailiff. And because of their successful carrying on of the Scottsboro case I should like the fund to be turned over to the International Labor Defense.

Public Relations Director

Nahum D. Brascher is an outstanding publicist and journalist of great ability and wide influence. In the present life and death struggle of Labor, black and white, to survive, it is expedient that the interests of so important and influential a person be thoughtfully examined.

According to Mr. Brascher, he served the United States Steel Corporation under the late Judge Elbert H. Gary, using his eloquence and his influence against the unionization of the approximately 40,000 Negroes then employed in the steel industry. To those familiar with the steel industry it is a well known fact that the Negro was brought in to force down the wage scale; that he was kept at the poorly paid, unskilled jobs, and was very shortly superseded by machines, supplemented by Mexican labor which was found to be available at even cheaper rates than Negro labor. And it has been said that Judge Gary seriously considered the importation of Chinese coolies to undercut the depressed wages of the Mexican. Immigration restrictions against Orientals forestalled this.

For a number of years now Mr. Brascher has been attached to the L. Fish Furniture Company, a large and extensive "installment plan" furniture house located at the entrance of Chicago's Loop. The greater percentage of the L. Fish Furniture Company's customers are Negroes on Chicago's South Side. A recent Trade Commission report called special attention to the exorbitant prices furniture dealers generally have extorted from the consumer. It is a regularly established policy in cities generally that all goods are sold highest to Negroes because their consumers, like their workers, are unorganized.

More recently, according to printed announcements sent out by that company, Mr. Brascher has been retained by the Schulze Baking company, wholesale bakeries, 40 East Garfield Boulevard, as an emissary of good will among the Negro population. His retention followed closely upon the heels of the Morgan Park school strike in which white children, supported by their parents, walked out demanding that Negro children be restricted to a Jim Crow school. It is complained on the South Side that a truck of the Schulze Baking company was used to display banners against the Negroes and for the Jim Crow issue in the Morgan Park controversy. There were probably repercussions in the sale of bread to Negroes and an agent of "good will" became expedient. "Director of Public Relations in behalf of (our) Business and Civic-Extension Program;" the official announcement sets out.

So much for men! Let's have a look at measures.

At 9:30 on the morning of June 19, 1933, 1,500 employees, Negro and white; of the Ben J. Sopkin's shops, led by the Needle Trades Industrial Union, downed tools and walked out on strike. The Needle Trades Industrial Union is not an American Federation of Labor union. The strike was one of the best organized and disciplined in Chicago labor history. To this day there has been no whisper of corrupt leadership, of hired thugs, of sell outs.

At 9:30 A.M. 1,500 workers, Negro and white, walked out of the several shops of Ben J. Sopkin and quietly and peacefully picketed the factories. At 9:45 A.M. Mr. Sopkin, "who for 25 years has been like a father to the Negro women on the South Side," called the police. Negro and white police were sent. The police kicked, mauled and slugged and cracked the heads of the women. Many were seriously injured and had to be taken to the hospital (although the Wabash Avenue police station failed to record any accidents). Twenty-five were jailed at one time, 65 at another. The

PICTURES OF HOMES

There is still time to send to THE CRISIS pictures (exterior views) of beautiful homes owned by colored people for inclusion in the July number. They should reach THE CRISIS by June 1.

treasury of the union was depleted bailing them out. But still they held out. In an editorial of July 1, 1933, on the Sopkin case the Chicago *Defender* points out, "It is not the duty of the police to settle strikes; they are to preserve law and order. Many of them seem to think they are to take sides with sweat shop keepers. At the time these women were assaulted by the police they were only peacefully walking the streets. There is no crime in peacefully walking on the street. Yet these women were brutally clubbed by the police."

Five Cents an Hour

And what were the conditions that provoked such heroic resistance to hunger, to brutality and to jail? What were the causes for the strike which Mr. J. Wellington Evans describes as "groundless"?

A check of the pay rolls and time keepers' records of the Sopkin shops disclosed that many of the girls were receiving 5 cents an hour for their work; that they worked 52 hours a week; that they received from $1.90 to $7.70 for a full week's work; that Negro cutters, a skilled technique, received $5.00 and $6.00 a week while white cutters received $18.00 a week for the same work; that the company made a charge for cashing checks; that inadequate rest rooms were furnished and that white foremen entered the women's rest rooms at will.

These charges were pretty unanimously confirmed by the investigations of the various committees. Aside from the Citizen's Committee called together by Mr. Sopkins, investigation was made by Mr. Marchand, a conciliator of the U. S. Department of Labor, Mr. Gabriel Allmond, of the Department of Political Science at the University of Chicago, Mr. Robert Morse Lovett, Professor of English at the University of Chicago and one of the editors of the *New Republic*, and the late James Mullenbach of the Steel Labor Relations Board. The consensus of their findings was that the practises existing at that time in the Sopkin's shops were vicious, unscrupulous and degrading.

After two heroic weeks—weeks that challenge anyone who presumes to say that Negro labor, once aroused, is not militant, class conscious and courageous—the strikers won 15 of their 17 demands and returned to work.

A 47 hour week.

A 17½% wage increase.

Reemployment of all strikers without discrimination.

Equal division of work.

Equal pay for equal work to colored and white workers.

No charge for checks.

And so on.

The fact that conditions in those shops is improved is due entirely to the struggle and sacrifice of the workers themselves, Negro and white, united under the leadership of the Needle Trades Industrial Union. With the major portion of their demands won, hunger, an exhausted treasury, police onslaughts that by this time had most of their leaders either in jail or in the hospitals the strike was forced to end without the Union securing contractual recognition. And thus it is that the present situation is foisted upon these workers.

"Uncle Tom" did not originate in fiction. Nor did he die with the Emancipation proclamation. He is perpetuated and immortalized in the type of leadership that sells the Negro for a few "sound American dollars." The girls in the Sopkin shops did not wear Mr. Sopkin's "loyalty bands" because they love Mr. Sopkin any more than Negroes down South love to ride in Jim Crow cars. It is compulsion and fear born of lack of organized power.

Against All Unions

Interestingly enough at the time of the strike Mr. Sopkin is quoted as saying that he objected to the N.I.T.U. but that he would be glad to deal with an American Federation of Labor union. Yet immediately this latter seems probable he employs the ablest talent available to start a whispering campaign against unionism and trade unions.

While calling attention to all the blessings of the unorganized shop he fails to point out that in Chicago today there are about 400 Negro women, members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, employed in the silk dress goods industry at weekly wages of from a minimum of $19.34 for finishers, to $39.40 a week for pressers. And they work 35 hours a week. That they are scattered indiscriminately in shops employing white workers. That among these are Negro floor ladies, shop committee chairladies and head cutters. That in New York City there are 5,000 Negro girls, members of the I.L.G.W.U., employed in the dress goods industry working side by side with white workers and receiving equal pay for equal work. That similar advantages and conditions exist in the Furriers' Industrial Union in Chicago and in New York today.

Moreover, no intelligent person, however sympathetic to organized labor, will maintain that the unions are perfect any more than he maintains that the Jim Crow policies of the schools, churches, business organization and the United States government are without fault. This position is not necessary even for the most extreme partisan. All that we claim is that in a period when employers are organized in Chambers of Commerce, and Boards of Trade it is essential for the employees, regardless of race, to be likewise organized. It would seem to be almost axiomatic, and is to competent minds. Among the whites even those who oppose unionism know better. The necessity for labor organization is admitted and adopted by every white race and nationality in the industrialized world. Can Negroes be an exception? This is maintained only by those persons who lack the fundamental interpretation of history with its uniformity of human nature whereby like causes produce like effects as well in the social as in the physical world.

Vincent-Machado

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in this declaration of a state of siege, for it made martial law dominant and military courts lawful. And in small states much more than in larger ones, military courts are mere instruments of the administration. The very clerk of the military court that convicted these youths was a relative of the President and in command of his palace guards! Jacques Roumain, the well-known Haitian poet, had nothing to do with the article published in Paris but was charged with plotting against the welfare of the state. The evidence against him consisted mainly of letters written *to him* by Communists in New York, which letters never reached him but were delivered by the postmaster to Mr. Vincent. Some of these communications contained only printed matter from the *International Labor Defense*. These young men could not have been convicted in civil courts, perhaps not even in Haiti. When I spoke to the President about these cases, he complained that the people of the United States do not understand the situation in Haiti, where there is so much illiteracy and ignorance and where the popular mind is more inflammable. There is a certain amount of truth in this statement: Haiti could not stand a Union Square or a Hyde Park as well as can New York or London. When our educated and half-educated people indulge in explosive talk, they are often satisfied and appeased; but when illiterate and more primitive people, especially the sons of five revolutionary generations, hear explosive talk, they want explosive action, and immediately. Talk with them is not the end; only the beginning.

Commerce Endangered

But after conceding so much, I asked Mr. Vincent: Why the military courts; and why the accused could not be tried in civil courts where the rules of evidence are different. He parried by saying that the cases had been appealed by the prisoners to the Supreme Court of

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The Fight Has Just Begun

IN 1922 under the brilliant leadership of James Weldon Johnson a federal anti-lynching bill passed the House of Representatives but was defeated by a filibuster in the Senate. The following year the sharpest drop in the annual toll of lynchings occurred during the history of lynching in the United States.

On April 15, 1935, Senator Edward P. Costigan served notice upon the Senate that upon conclusion of debate on the Bankhead farm tenant bill he would demand consideration of the anti-lynching bill introduced by himself and Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York.

Promptly a handful of southern senators swung into an indirect filibuster against the anti-lynching bill through prolongation of debate upon the Bankhead bill though most of the one billion, fifty million dollars provided in the Bankhead bill would be expended in the South. After several days the indirect filibuster was ended when the Senate recommitted the Bankhead bill to the Committee on Agriculture for further study.

The filibusters faced in 1935, however, a far different task than the one in 1922. Public opinion had mounted to the extent that organizations with a total membership of nearly fifty million had endorsed the Costigan-Wagner bill and many of them were actively working for its support. Even in southern states many of the leading newspapers were urging passage of the measure. White women, as represented in many branches of the Y.W.C.A., in a number of state organizations of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, the 250,000 women of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, students in universities, both white and Negro, ministerial associations in Nashville, Jacksonville, New Orleans and other large southern cities were all in favor of the bill and actively working for its enactment into law.

Senator Ellison D. Smith, the aged senior senator from South Carolina, unleashed a tirade against the bill in the best—or worst—traditions of the reconstruction period. He mouthed threats of "secession" and "civil war," while the galleries and many of his fellow senators tittered. He screamed that lynching is necessary for protection of womanhood, which exploded theory was indignantly repudiated by scores of telegrams from southern white women before the Senate went into session the following day.

This is a report on the filibuster against the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill in the senate, made from observations of Walter White, who had personal charge of the lobbying in Washington

One Vote Margin

Majority Leader Joseph T. Robinson, of Arkansas, had consented to the taking up of the bill only because of pressure brought to bear upon himself, it was rumored, by the White House. Day after day the filibuster went on, resulting in the focusing of public attention upon lynching as has never before been the case. Senator Robinson's attempt to force a vote to adjourn, which would have meant displacement of the bill from its preferred position on the calendar as the pending business of the Senate, was defeated on the first day, April 26, by the narrow margin of 34 to 33 votes. Obviously, hoping that senators pledged to vote for the bill would not be sufficiently interested to give up week-end engagements, Senator Robinson called the Senate to meet on the following day, Saturday. The motion to adjourn was defeated by an even wider margin of 38 to 27 votes.

Over the week-end trades were made and pressure was brought to bear on senators who had voted against adjournment. It is reported that one representative of labor was offered a large bloc of southern votes for any measure labor might name if it would aid in getting the anti-lynching bill off the calendar. These efforts were unsuccessful. Telegrams were inspired to certain western senators claiming that their votes against adjournment would hold up measures which farmer-labor groups were interested in having enacted. But even these, and other strategems, were not sufficient to put through the motion of adjournment, the vote on Monday again being by the narrow margin of one vote, 38 senators voting against adjournment and 37 for.

On Tuesday, Senator Robinson did not offer a motion to adjourn, it being obvious that he was not sure of enough votes. On Wednesday, May 1, he again called for a motion to adjourn. Senator William E. Borah, the great "liberal" who advocated vigorously violation of "States rights" for prohibition, repeated his 1922 performance of declaring himself against lynching but opposed any Federal action against the crime because of "constitutionality." The filibusters in their desperation drew Senator Borah into the fight against the bill and he promptly utilized the occasion by attacking the administration and the constitutionality of many of the recovery acts, such as the NRA and the AAA. This time it was successful by a vote of 48–32.

This marked the first round of the battle in the Seventy-fourth Congress for passage of the anti-lynching bill. As soon as the final vote had been taken, proponents of the bill began work on the next steps to force consideration. Fifty-eight senators are pledged to vote for the bill and only twenty-one are irrevocably against it. A fifty-ninth vote for the bill was lost in the tragic and untimely death in an airplane accident of the late Senator Bronson M. Cutting of New Mexico.

Union of Organizations

All enemies of lynching owe a debt of gratitude to Senators Edward P. Costigan and Robert F. Wagner for their skilful, courageous and uncompromising fight. Opposition, trickery, and insults merely made them the more determined.

Of great significance in the struggle has been the efficiency, the snap and the determination with which the fight for the bill has been made. Though the N.A.A.C.P. acted as the coordinating agency of these efforts, the fight was conducted by all organizations without jealousy or desire for acclaim or credit. It is probable that before this issue of the CRISIS reaches its readers the next steps in the fight may have been taken. The chief handicap and the one drawback to an even more effective and efficient struggle was the lack of sufficient funds for telegrams, stenographic services, printing, postage, traveling expenses, the preparation of memoranda to answer the fallacious arguments of the enemies of the bill, and other such expenses. While it is probable that on the motion to consider the anti-lynching bill pressure of other bills might have forced eventually passage of the motion to adjourn, public opinion against the filibuster, especially in the South, was mounting at such a speedy rate that had supporters of the bill been able to hold out a few days longer public pressure might have forced the breaking of the filibuster. It is to be regretted that the President did not see fit in a message to Congress or in the "Fireside Chat" which he delivered over the radio during the fight to speak out against the filibuster. Many supporters of the bill are convinced that had he done so he would have rallied many

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Anti-Lynching Crusaders

Harris & Ewing

HON. EDWARD P. COSTIGAN, United States Senator from Colorado, moved for the consideration of the anti-lynching bill in a speech April 24, 1935 which is regarded as one of the most scholarly and eloquent heard by the Senate this session, concluding: "No man can be permitted to usurp the combined functions of judge, jury and executioner of his fellow men; and whenever any State fails to protect such equal rights, I submit that the Federal Government must do its utmost to repair the damage which is then chargeable to all of us. On these and other unanswerable grounds the able Senator from New York and I look to the American people and our National Congress to endorse, with the overwhelming weight of public opinion, the enactment of such legislation." Born in Virginia, educated at Harvard, Senator Costigan has practiced law in Denver since 1900. He is regarded as an outstanding humanitarian and is known as a suave, courtly, but tenacious fighter for reform.

Blank & Stoller

HON. ROBERT F. WAGNER, United States Senator from New York, followed his colleague in presenting the anti-lynching bill with a speech April 25, 1935, saying: "There is no concealing the fact that this practice is directed primarily against the members of a single race, who have suffered 503 of the 554 outrages inflicted since 1918. I do not desire to harp even upon the effects of this injustice upon a single race. Violating all American principles, the crime of lynching is a defiant assault upon the government itself. When the killing of George Armwood took place upon the Eastern Shore of Maryland the Governor and the State troops were helpless before the fury of the mob. The attorney general was threatened with death because he sought to obtain the arrest of the culprits." Born in Germany, a resident of New York since childhood, and a graduate of its colleges, Senator Wagner has had a distinguished career of public service, conspicuous for its constant efforts in behalf of labor.

Editorials

The Best of the Anti-Lynching Fights

THE campaign which was carried on for the passage of the Costigan-Wagner federal anti-lynching bill was the best of the many crusades against lynching. The supporters of the bill may be disappointed, but they need not be discouraged. A magnificent fight was organized and carried forward, and the battle is not yet over.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of this campaign is that it had wide support in the South. Important southern daily papers, southern white educators and students, southern church women, ministers, clubs of all kinds and individuals by the hundreds rallied to aid this effort to provide punishment for lynchers. This campaign has demonstrated that all future approaches to problems of race adjustment, if they be intelligent, must discard the myth that the South is a unit in its thinking on the Negro.

This was clearly shown by the second significant aspect of the Costigan-Wagner crusade, namely: many so-called friends of the Negro and haters of lynching *from the North and West* did not support the bill with their votes and did nothing to break the filibuster. They voted to pass up the bill, adjourn the senate and get on to "more important" business. While senators from Tennessee and Kentucky were wavering, sometimes for and sometimes against the bill in the four votes cast, men like Senator Couzens of Michigan and Senator Shipstead of Minnesota (who were thought to be staunchly for the measure) were wobbling. In fact, Shipstead voted always for adjournment. In a fair analysis, the senators from Tennessee and Kentucky, even though they voted finally for adjournment, deserve more credit than the northerners and westerners.

Equally revealing was the Great Silence of the Man in the White House. He said a few words against lynching *before* the actual test of votes came, but when that crucial hour arrived, he said nothing.

The most important dividend of the campaign thus far is that it accomplished more education against lynching than ten years of quiet work. Literally hundreds of groups all over the country have studied and debated lynching in these last two years. Even the state of Mississippi has been penetrated, with the most important white woman's college in that state having a lecture and discussion on the anti-lynching bill. If, as the conservatives (Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell and some southern whites) claim, the true method is education, then the fight for the Costigan-Wagner bill has been the most powerful educational force yet used against mob rule.

Last, but not least, was the unflinching support given the bill on the floor of the senate by its sponsors, Senators Edward P. Costigan and Robert F. Wagner. They fought every step of the way, from the time it was introduced, through committee meetings, over the radio, in conferences and finally in the actual combat on the floor. All lovers of humanity and law and order, white and black, north and south, hold them in highest esteem.

Senator Borah

WE cannot conclude comment on the anti-lynching campaign without a separate word for Senator William E. Borah, Republican war horse from Idaho. We knew what to expect from Senator Ellison D. (Cotton Ed) Smith of South Carolina. We did not believe, from his past record, that we could expect Senator Borah to vote for the bill. But who could have predicted that the man who introduced a resolution to have the federal government investigate the treatment of certain Mexican citizens by the Mexican government would make a speech denouncing proposed action by the federal government to protect American citizens from mobs *in their own country* and punish lynchers? If this Borah interpretation be the Constitution of these United States, the sooner it is changed the better. These hair-splitters were ever greater menace to our form of government than all the bomb-throwers on the continent.

"Spoiled" Negroes

A CURIOUS throw-back to the philosophy of the older, rabid southern bourbons crops out—of all places—in *The Nation* for May 15 and in an article by—of all people—Benjamin Stolberg, long believed to be intelligent upon the race problem, even though at times he has shown himself to be inadequately informed. Says Mr. Stolberg in discussing "black chauvinism:"

> Under the DuBois banner hundreds of colored men and women went in for a liberal education. . . . In short, Booker T. Washington's "good nigger" came to be led by Dr. DuBois's spoiled Negro. . . .

We join Mr. Stolberg in his attack on the fatuous theory of black chauvinism and we shall have something to say later about his analysis of Negro leadership, but we would like him to explain the statement above which jibes so neatly with the assertion of a Deep South statesman that to educate a Negro was to spoil a good field hand. Does he believe all the people who followed Booker T. Washington deserve the contemptuous classification of "good niggers?" Does he seriously assert that the DuBoisites constituted the sole leadership of the Washington followers? Does he believe that Negroes who seek classical, scientific and professional educations are spoiled? If they are spoiled, what kind of education would he have them seek and what status does he consider they should occupy in order not to be spoiled?

For the Defense of Dear Old Italy

MUSSOLINI continues to mobilize troops, speed up munition factories and send soldiers across the sea to Africa to "defend" Italy against Ethiopia. The latest announcement is that in addition to the 100,000 Italian troops already in Africa, another 100,000 will be sent. This move was made, according to Italian spokesmen, because Ethiopia has been buying arms and ammunition and has sent a few thousand troops to its borders to be ready to protect its land and people. Il Duce is also hurt and outraged because other European countries have the nerve to be selling arms to the black kingdom. He has protested to these nations. Meanwhile, the rains in Africa have held up everything except talk, with the prospect that next fall may bring actual conflict. At that time it is expected that Italian troops will try to march and fly into Ethiopia to prevent the invasion of Rome, Milan, Florence and Naples.

Scarecrow

THIS country owes a debt of gratitude to the radio broadcasting companies for the placing of their facilities at the disposal of the curious collection of aspirants to national leadership. The latest bleatings on the night air came from the Honorable Eugene Talmadge, gallus-bedecked czar of Georgia. We suppose the quickest way to kill off small-calibre ranters like Talmadge is to allow them to wave their arms and shout. But a halt should be called somewhere. We just *cain't* stand hearing much more of Talmadge, even if he is governor of Georgia. Perhaps the best that can be said for him is that he is a scarecrow, fearsome and foolish enough to insure a detour of the voters around him and his.

Sharecroppers

(*Continued from page* 169)

crimination, etc.—facts that everyone knew. I quoted the Declaration of Independence, "All men are entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. When any government becomes destructive of these ends, that government the people have the right to alter or abolish." This prefaced my sentence asking for the United States government to abolish the plantation system which is keeping both the Negro and the white sharecroppers in peonage and near the starvation point. I spoke of the violence being used against the Union and told of our policy of non-violence. But stated that violence is a weapon that two can use. And that if the planters continued their violent acts, eventually sharecroppers would stop turning their other cheeks and start using lynch ropes. I, as chairman, had introduced two Negro organizers as "Mr.", an unpardonable sin in my homeland in the South. I was arrested on the absurd charges of "anarchy," "inciting a riot," "using profane and abusive language," and "conspiracy to usurp the government." I was held nine days unable to raise a $3,000 bail, tried for anarchy, found guilty by a planter jury and sentenced to six months in jail and $500 fine. The deputy prosecuting attorney, Fred Stafford, in his charge to the jury referred to my introducing a "nigger" as Mister in a vile attempt to arouse racial hatred. This was turned into laughter as one of the sharecroppers, a white man yelled out "I'd ruther call a nigger Mister than you." This man was hurried out of the room by officers. The atmosphere of the trial was tense, every person who entered the grocery store where the trial was held was searched for weapons—the planters on being searched showed permits to carry guns. No arms were found on Union men. I appealed and the other charges were dropped because of the publicity given the case.

Goal: A New South

Immediately we started pounding away with mass meetings and building the union. False arrests were numerous. Sheriffs and planters beat up speakers and organizers with whips and pistols. On two occasions visiting speakers were stopped by an armed planter mob. The speakers were Powers Hapgood and Norman Thomas. Several meetings have been shot into and homes also. The situation is very tense. Recently two Negro boys were shot in their legs when their home was shot into, and any day open conflict may start as it is difficult to keep men disciplined to nonviolence. Mr. C. T. Carpenter, a southern Democrat and the Union attorney, was shot at while in his home. A Negro woman's ear was knocked off by a planter with his gun butt. A Negro, Reverend T. A. Allen of Marks, Miss., was killed. The sheriff said he was a Union organizer. We have no record of him. He wore an "Everyman a King" button in honor of the Kingfish who has failed to act on behalf of the sharecroppers. Many other acts of violence have been committed often by officers of the law.

In the meantime Washington does not act to enforce its contracts or stop planter violence. The governor of Arkansas says publicly that the officials of the eastern Arkansas counties might as well be in Alaska as far as any control he has over them.

In spite of increasing terror, the Union grows. Hundreds are joining, Negro and white sharecroppers. We now have 10,000 members, an increase of 35 per cent since January 15.

The Union is now calling on all its friends and friends of simple human justice to aid in the legal defense of eleven organizers who have charges pending in court and to the organizational fund to spread the Union. We have an excellent chance of building a mass movement of southern sharecroppers. We have three and one-half million sharecroppers to organize. Enthusiasm is running high, hundreds are joining weekly. Help us build a new South.

Religion-Race

(*Continued from page* 170)

us. The double code decrees: Justice to those of my own little group; to others, justice only in so far as expediency or sheer power of compulsion demands. The Christian code decrees: Justice to all, regardless of expediency or compulsion; our just Father in heaven is no respecter of persons or of races; the members of all races are equally His children with equally inviolable rights.

The two codes are as unlike as night is from day, as darkness from light. No one who pledges loyalty to the just God of all humanity can for a moment take as his own a code that denies even-handed justice to all but a segment of humanity.

To sum up what we have said so far: two major factors are responsible for much or most of our interracial wolfishness. The first of these, the assumption of physical or mental superiority, is unscientific. The second of these, the ancient selfish double code, is obviously at odds with a religion built on faith in a God of love and justice.

It is largely to these two factors, the double code and the assumption of white superiority, that are traceable the deeply unjust discriminations on the part of the whites against our Negro fellow-citizens in this our own country. I am not speaking here of interracial marriages, which are not particularly desired by the overwhelming masses of either race, and which, under existing social conditions and under prevalent trends in public opinion, are broadly speaking not desirable. Nor am I speaking of interracial charity. It is not sufficient for whites merely to support generously works of charity and philanthropy inaugurated and carried out by whites for the benefit of their Negro fellow-citizens. The American Negro is increasingly asking, not for charity and philanthropy, but for justice. In fact he is increasingly resenting this attempt to build up charity on the ruins of justice. He is increasingly, and within his full God-given rights, asking for justice, asking that the manifold discriminations and injustices under which he suffers at the hands of the white majority be ended.

Time does not permit more than a brief enumeration of some of the more outstanding of these discriminations and injustices that characterize the color line: Blocking or shouldering the Negro out of jobs in these days of depression and unemployment; famine wages; denial of opportunity for vocational and economic advancement; widespread trampling upon basic civic rights and often upon the most rudimentary justice in our very courts of justice; refusal to prosecute the cowardly murderers who hide behind lynch law; discriminations less lethal but no less unchristian at the doors or within the very walls of our churches and educational institutions. These are but a few items in a litany that could be continued through many a minute more. And all this is done today, without ever a word of regret, without ever a humble and contrite plea to be forgiven for the injustices we whites have wrought upon the Negro in the past four centuries of conscienceless exploitation.

The day is far spent. But there may yet be time and light enough to make some amends to our Negro fellow-citizens for our own sins and the sins of our fathers. Such amends must come not merely in words, nor even in deeds of charity. They must come through deeds of justice, a justice that is uncompromising in principle and in application. Justice, not words nor charity, is the cure for injustice. Those who seek to establish the kingdom of God on earth must seek first God's justice—all other things can then easily and fittingly be added. But charity without justice limps.

From the Press of the Nation

Editorial of the Month

Father Coughlin and Huey Long

Pittsburgh *Courier*

Yelling their quasi-radical pronouncements over the ether and getting reams of space in the newspapers and magazines, Father Coughlin and Senator Huey P. Long are making a wide appeal for mass support.

The programs of both demagogues are admittedly attractive. Colored citizens are asking whether they should join one or the other of these camps; whether either program means anything to the colored people as such.

The fact is that neither Coughlin's National Union for Social Justice or Long's Share-the-Wealth Society has anything in its program about enforcing the 14th Amendment where Negroes are concerned. Neither program touches upon lynching, disfranchisement, discrimination or segregation.

Both of these men will doubtless say that their programs are so broad that they include everyone and will benefit all citizens alike. But the colored citizens have problems over and above those of the general run of other citizens, and any group expecting to get our votes and support will have to say something about those problems.

It is significant that neither the priest nor the senator has had anything to say of particular interest to the Negro. To be sure, Long has talked about "niggers," but even that is more than Coughlin has said. His 16-plank platform of vague platitudes has nothing in it about those matters of public policy in which colored people are most interested.

Occasionally writers claiming to have given deep study to our social organization, suggest that the murderous mob spirit resides solely in the stratum of the poor whites. Tomes are written telling how by education and other development measures the illiterate may be lifted above this brute level.

The action, however, of the United States Senate this week, or the lack of action by this body on the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill, indicates very clearly that the mob is fairly well entrenched in the very seat of government authority.—Oklahoma *Black Dispatch*.

In an effort to break the filibuster in the senate against the anti-lynching bill, the N.A.A.C.P. appealed to President Roosevelt; and although a telegram was sent requesting that he indicate that he would like to see the bill passed and throw the weight of his administration back of it, the President has made no reply.

The *Bystander* has never felt that President Roosevelt would stand pat on his "beautiful" remarks against lynching. His whole program in Congress is in the hands of southern senators and he does not choose to break with them over the anti-lynching bill.—Iowa *Bystander*.

The fight for a federal anti-lynching law has not been lost. Monumental struggles of a proscribed people seeking justice and full citizenship are not won in a day. They continue until victory is won.

Already we are able to perceive definite good results of the 1935 battle to outlaw mob murder. Organizations representing 40,000,000 Americans have gone on record as being in favor of the Costigan-Wagner bill. Social security legislation affecting the future of 122,000,000 American people has been held in abeyance while the world watched a historical drama marred by our national custom of dodging. The President practiced the time-honored rite of evasion also. American people who love justice (and there are millions of them) will not forget. They will rise again and demand that our national legislature remove the blot of lynching and purge our country's honor.—New York *Amsterdam News*.

White collar workers among local Negroes look forward with expectancy to the new program for work relief. Since the administration has announced that new plans will be made to take care of such persons at salaries commensurate with the work assigned, numerous applicants have gone to the local relief headquarters to ask for jobs as clerks, stenographers and other similar offices. It is reported that those in charge have told them, "We will not need colored stenographers for three months."—Louisiana *Weekly*.

No more significant debate for us has engaged the attention of Congress for a long time. As great champions of law, order, and human rights, Costigan and Wagner speak, they must feel the spirit of the nation's great statesmen who championed the war amendments, passed the civil rights bill, and, once before, sought to pass the Dyer anti-lynching bill.

This week history is being made; whether Costigan and Wagner win or lose, they have made a contribution to the three-century-old fight to make our nation just and all our citizens free and equal.—*Afro-American*.

The Chicago *Defender* as an institution celebrates its thirtieth anniversary with this edition. During the thirty years of its existence it has unflinchingly fought for things it believed right and against things it believed wrong. It has not at all times, either in its editorial or reportorial opinions, suited everybody.

In the thirty years of our existence as an institution we have labored with an eye single to the economic, civic and industrial progress of the race. We have asked for and, in a large measure, received the confidence and respect of thousands of our fellow citizens. This confidence and respect has grown and increased as years have passed, and we believe that this alone gives us assurance that we have merited it.—Chicago *Defender*.

Evidently, the President believes that material values are more important than human life. He wants to spend billions to keep people from relief rolls, but is unwilling to say one word to prevent his fellowmen from being murdered by mobs.

"I am the President of all the people and not of a single section," declared the President. If that is true, why does he permit the South to block legislation which has as its purpose the prevention of lynching, the crime which is a blot on American civilization?

The professed liberalism of the President is weakened by his silence on the Costigan-Wagner Bill.—Philadelphia *Tribune*.

Maybe a filibuster against the anti-lynching bill has something to do with recovery, but just what has not been made clear.—Bloomington, Ind., *World*.

Rounding the Century

By Gwendolyn Bennett

Story of the Colored Orphan Asylum and Association for the Benefit of Colored Children in New York City

HIGH on a hill, overlooking the Hudson River, stands the Colored Orphan Asylum and Association for the Benefit of Colored Children. Sheltering it on all sides, lie the beautiful estates of Riverdale-on-the-Hudson. Artistically situated throughout the beautiful grounds are the administrative building, living cottages, playgrounds, and utility buildings. The physical beauty of the institution however, is not its only cause for distinction.

The pervading spirit of the place far surpasses the beauty of its surroundings. Founded in 1836 by two Quaker ladies, the Misses Shotwell and Murray, it was designed as an institution that would take the place of almshouses and jails in which orphans were housed at that day. In its ninety-ninth year, the same humanity and true spirit of uplift characterizes the institution.

Elaborate preparations are underway for the hundredth anniversary celebration that will be held in 1936. Dr. Mason Pitman, the superintendent, hopes to be able to present a pageant showing the history and development of the organization. Special music and comprehensive exhibitions are being planned to give the public a full picture of what has been accomplished in a hundred years.

History

As the century rolls around, the panoramic view of what the Colored Orphan Asylum has done reads like a vivid chapter from the history of the Negro race. The story of this organization's struggles and achievements often touches the peak of real drama.

According to old reports in 1836, the two young Quaker girls, as a protest against the existing system of caring for destitute colored children, secured a home for them—"an old but pretty white cottage shaded by two horse chestnut trees" in Twelfth Street. Accompanied by a single courageous ally, these two young women presented themselves at the gates of the poorhouse and demanded the eleven Negro children confined there. These colored children, who had been "subjected to cruel indignities in consequence of bitter race prejudice," were all under ten years of age.

The colored children were kept in the new home for six years. At this time the home was burned by incendiaries and for a time the Quaker girls kept their charges in safety "far out of town"—in Fiftieth Street.

A tract of waste land, the lots on the west side of Fifth Avenue between 43rd and 44th Streets, was presented to the institution by the City in 1843. A building was erected, in the best institutional style of its day, to house 200 children. This building was sacked and burned by a mob in the Draft Riots of July, 1863. A report written in 1863 tells the story in the colorful language of the day.

One of the Youngsters

"The children, numbering 233, were quietly seated in their school room, playing in the nursery or reclining on their beds in the hospital, when an infuriated mob, consisting of several thousand men, women and children armed with clubs and brick bats advanced upon the institution and effected an entrance by breaking down the front door with an ax. The mob swept through the institution, pillaging and destroying, saturating the floor with inflammable substances and kindling fires in fifteen different places.

"In a few brief words of prayer as is not often heard, the earnest supplication for terrified and persecuted little children, the Superintendent flung back the heavy door which had thus far resisted attack, and giving the order, the long line of terrified little ones filed out, led by Mr. Davis. In the center was the nurse, carrying two babies with a half dozen others clinging to her skirts. Humanly speaking, there was no eye to pity, no hand to save. Death seemed staring them in the face.

"The sight of a helplessness so absolute stirred in the hearts of the rioters a feeling akin to pity, cursing was turned to blessing. And then a hush fell over the crowd, the seething mass fell back upon itself, and a passage was opened for the children. It seemed as though a mighty hand was holding them in control.

"A little girl, a child of eight years, was seen to detach herself from the ranks, and passing fearlessly through the crowd, disappeared into the house, from the windows of which lurid sheets of flame were already bursting forth. No one could surmise her object, no command could restrain. In a few moments she was seen coming from the burning building again, making her way unmolested through the still silenced crowd, and bearing a burden almost beyond her small strength. It was the big Bible from which the child had heard the lesson read daily for three years. And of all the contents of the great house, this was the only thing rescued."

A new institution was built in 1867 at 143rd Street and Tenth Avenue for 325 children. From this location the child-caring home moved in 1907 to its present home in Riverdale-on-the-Hudson.

Physical Equipment

The institutions' yearly expenditure is approximately $340,000. This sum when contrasted with the $2000, raised by a courageous group of people, to purchase the "pretty white college" in Twelfth Street is a fair indication of how the Colored Orphan Asylum has grown.

The large central building of the institution is well equipped with offices and class-rooms. Within its walls there are nurseries for the smaller children, a library under the supervision of Miss Gladys McDonald from the 135th Street Branch of the New York City Public Library, and a large auditorium. One entire wing of the building has been converted into an infirmary where sick children are cared for under the supervision of a visiting physician, a dietician and a nurse.

There are seven cottages scattered throughout the grounds of the institution. These cottages are the homes in which the children live under the guidance of a "house mother." Although they are called cottages by the executives of the institution, they are really large houses of the type built for the

ordinary well-to-do family. On the first floor of these cottages there is a kitchen, a dining room and a living room. Each of the rooms is furnished as though it were part of a home for the usual family but is large enough to accommodate comfortably all the children living in the cottage. Upstairs, the sleeping quarters are roomy and well ventilated. Each child has an individual locker in which his clothing and other personal belongings are kept. The lavatories are immaculately clean and sufficiently numerous to accommodate all the children in the home.

In a separate building there is a complete laundry manned by an efficient corps of laundresses. There is also an ice-plant in which the institution makes its own ice. In the basement of the central building are kitchens, storerooms a large sewing room, and a general food store.

A large playground is provided for the children's outdoor play and physical education. There are two tennis courts, a basket-ball court, swings, see-saws, and ample space for general play. The rest of the grounds is divided into plots for vegetable and flower-gardening.

The Children: Education

Since its brave beginning the Colored Orphan Asylum has cared for and educated 8,256 children. This number has included both dependent and neglected children. Beside preschool and educational care, the institution maintains a large boarding out department in which it utilizes approximately 200 boarding homes. At present there are nearly 900 children under the direct care of the Colored Orphan Asylum: 40 of these are orphans. The children are admitted to the home between the ages of 2 and 12 years.

The New York City Board of Education maintains in the institution a regular public school through the eighth grade. Aside from the regular school training the children are taught sewing and shop work. Their school-room training is supplemented by regular and unrestricted use of the library in which there are 10,000 books and 35 magazines, duplicates of which are placed in each of the cottages.

Although 12 years is the age limit for keeping the children in the institution, their discharge depends on their own development. When a child reaches high school age, if a permanent home has not been found for him, he is placed in a boarding home in order that he may attend high school. In some cases children remain at the institution after the age of twelve years, and transportation is provided for him to go to and from a New York high school.

In special cases arrangement is made for further training after high school. At present 2 boys in the Downingtown Industrial School, a boy in Virginia State college and a girl in Cheyney State Normal School are still under the guidance of the Colored Orphan Asylum. Arrangements are being made for college training in physical education for a boy attending high school who has shown special aptitude for athletics. While finishing his high school training he lives at the institution and fills the position of assistant physical director there. For this work he receives a regular allowance.

The institution's regular school subjects are taught in this summer session. The school routine is modified and augmented by craft work and supervised outdoor recreation.

During the weeks following summer school the children or the orphanage are sent to camp. Opportunity is provided for 60 boys to attend Camp Lovick each summer; 16 boys attend the Boy Scout Camp; and the same number of boys go to Camp Gould East. Provision is made for 16 girls to attend Camp Minisink.

In addition to these regular summer camp activities, 60 boys are kept throughout the year at a school camp in School City near Nyack, New York. Although the camp is under the direction of the Lutheran Church, the ungraded school connected with it is conducted by the Board of Education of New York State.

After Care

The executives of the Colored Orphan Asylum boast of the fact that no child has left the institution without receiving after care. This entire system of following up is intricate and permits many different types of after care.

The problem of after care is often simplified by regular adoption of the child into a home. The home and the foster parents are fully investigated before the adoption is legalized and for a year or two following the adoption the institution inquires into the success of the new home life.

One of the features of the institutional program is the boarding out of children of all ages in selected boarding homes. In this way the children receive the benefits of home life, taking part in all the community activities as do all other normal children. In this way 200 homes are utilized caring for five hundred children. Oftimes the boarding mothers become so interested in the children entrusted to their care that where the children are adoptable they adopt them into their own families.

Complete records are kept of what happens to the children who have been under the care of the home. Prominent doctors, dentists, nurses and morticians throughout the country were at one time wards of the Colored Orphan Asylum. Many employees of the United States postal service and a number on the New York Police Department were at one time in this child caring home. Numerous school teachers in all parts of the country owe their success to the care of this institution. In every walk of life some person from this home has made his mark. With each of these, the institution continues to keep in touch.

Music

I'm a goin' to lay down ma shield
and sword
Down by the riverside
Down by the riverside

It was a chapel service and the lusty voices of these children in the Colored Orphan Asylum peeled forth this spiritual. They did not seem to be children who were in a home for unfortunates. They sang with an inner fire that brought tears to the eyes of their listeners.

Dr. Pitman, the superintendent of the institution, is a firm advocate of the power of music in educational and behavior problems. Hearing these children sing confirms his convictions. He has emphasized the importance of music in all of the children's training. It is a certainty that they are happy and peaceful while they are singing. There is a glee club in the institution. This glee club broadcasts over Station WJZ every Sunday morning at nine twenty. This broadcast has been on the air for six years.

Esprit de Corps

Although membership on the trustee board of the Colored Orphan Asylum is in no way limited, it is a tradition that the trusteeship has almost always passed from one generation to the next, or from one branch of the family to another. Because of this there is a family loyalty among the trustees. The present First Directress, Mrs. Willard Parker, Jr., succeeded her mother-in-law, Mrs. Willard Parker. With few exceptions the trustees who control the affairs of the present organization are related in one way or the other to the founders of the institution.

Perhaps this family loyalty among the trustees accounts for the fine spirit between the workers in the institution and those entrusted to their care. There is a real spirit of uplift in the work being done. There is a minimum of regimentation and a maximum of interest in the welfare of the children themselves.

They tell a story of the little boy who was found crying by the side of a road not far from the institution. It seems that a parent or guardian had come to take him home. When asked why he was crying he answered, "I don't want to go home—I want to go back to the Home." There is much that same spirit

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"Imitation of Life" in Paris

By Mercer Cook

CLIMAXING a season in which the American Negro artist—from Josephine Baker and Louis Armstrong, to Aubrey Pankey and Marion Anderson—has been much in evidence to Parisian audiences, Fannie Hurst's *Imitation of Life,* with Louise Beavers and Fredi Washington, is now being presented in two of the better cinemas of the French capital. This film, the first in which the French have had an opportunity to see the American race problem in action, will hardly enjoy great popularity in Europe, notwithstanding favorable press comments and the optimism of the theater's manager. The subject is too foreign, and, as almost all the reviewers note, the action drags at times. The reaction of the spectators at last night's performance was one of perplexity rather than of enthusiasm. Nevertheless, from the Negro's point of view, the showing of this film in France is significant and deserving of a passing comment.

The story is doubtless familiar to most CRISIS readers, but a portion of the resumé which appeared in the *Intransigeant,* one of the leading dailies, will refresh the memory of those who may have forgotten. "There are in reality two subjects in this film: the tragic situation of the black race in the United States, and the pathetic power of maternal love. . . . Beatrice Pullman, (Claudette Colbert), is a young widow who is courageously raising her daughter. She takes into her home a good and strong Negro woman, Delilah (Louise Beavers), who has invented so excellent a recipe for pancakes, that Bea attempts and successfully exploits "Aunt Delilah's Pancakes." Years pass. Delilah's daughter, Peola (Fredi Washington), is disconsolate because she belongs to the black race, although she seems perfectly white (her father was a white man). She is ashamed of her mother who suffers bitterly because of such ingratitude. Peola abandons school and home to get away from her mother, who dies of chagrin. However, Peola cannot escape remorse."

This resumé is not rigorously exact, for it was not Delilah but her maternal grandmother who invented the famous recipe, and Peola's father was "A very, very light colored man." These inaccuracies are excusable, for the French subtitles are in several instances extremely unsatisfactory. There is, for example, no French equivalent for the word *Mammy,* and when Peola begs Delilah not to use the term, and when the latter tells her "I ain't no white folk's mother, child, I'se your mammy," the translator is unable to render the idea intelligible to French audiences. Less excusable, perhaps, is the error in the scene in which Delilah visits Peola's school. The latter, ashamed to let her comrades know she is colored, hides her face so that her mother will not recognize her. Delilah, seeing her, asks the teacher: "Has she been passing?" The translator, confused at this point, misconstrues this meaning of the verb *to pass,* with that which indicates success in one's studies: i.e. he passed to the fourth grade. In like manner, when Delilah explains, on reaching home: "Peola was passing, and I spoiled everything," here again the subtitle reads: "She was studying well, and I spoiled everything." Another difficulty was the rendition of Delilah's dialect. Apparently, the best solution the translator could find was the use of a small *r* whenever that letter occured. For example, *pour* (for), is written *POUr.* With these exceptions, the version is reasonably exact, and the French spectator is able to follow the story. After all, one should be grateful that the original version has been preserved, and that, unlike so many American films shown in France, French voices have not been substituted.

In fact, French is heard only once, at the beginning of the picture. Odette Pannetier, one of the better known and most caustic critics, states in a few words the situation of the Negro in the United States, explaining how discrimination, segregation and prejudice often made his life unbearable. That this innovation was considered necessary is eloquent proof of the difference between the American and French conceptions of race relations. To quote the Paris edition of the New York *Herald-Tribune,* which, incidentally, is not reputed as being exactly negrophile, Mme. Pannetier "explains to the French public what seems to them the incomprehensible race prejudice against Negroes in the United States." Among other things, she states that Negroes are treated as lepers in certain parts of the country. One might reply, however, that the existence of thousands of men and women of Peola's color would imply that this particular leprosy is not always considered untouchable.

The comments which have appeared thus far in Parisian journals have been enlightening, and decidedly flattering for the most part, although it is difficult to determine, as in America, how much of this publicity is sincere, and how much has been bought. With the exception of the aforementioned American daily, all laud the individual performances, especially those of Claudette Colbert, Fredi Washington and Louise Beavers. *Le Matin* of March fifteenth speaks of the "excellent cast of this very beautiful film," adding: "Louise Beavers has poignant accents in the role of Delilah. Fredi Washington makes one understand the remorse which take possession of Peola." Even more enthusiastic is *Le Populaire* of the same date: "Certain passages of this film rank among the most beautiful of the cinema and, if one applauds the talent of Claudette Colbert, of Warren William, one must pay tribute to the Negro actress, Louise Beavers for all the tragic power of her woman's heart. She is not merely an interpreter of a role, she is Delilah herself." This enumeration could be continued at length if space permitted. Of greater significance, however, is the reaction of these reviewers to American race prejudice. One deplores the "redoubtable and cruel problems created in the United States by the tragic condition of Negroes." Another remarks: "Yes, Peola, who finally understands, has been criminal, but how much more criminal yet are those atrocious prejudices!"

I do not know how the Negro press reacted to this film when it was shown in the States; there were, in all probability, objections concerning the segregation of the daughter at her mother's funeral, etc. Nevertheless, as propaganda favoring the American Negro in his struggle for recognition as a human being, no picture has been as effective. It is a fallacy—like most generalizations about peoples—to believe that all Frenchmen like Negroes. A more exact assertion would be that the average Frenchman is less prejudiced than the average American, and relatively ignorant concerning the race question in the United States. One or two prize-fighters, a few jazz musicians, an occasional pullman porter, maid or shoe-shiner presented as buffoons on the screen, represent perhaps the extent of his contacts with the American Negro. Needless to say, these representatives have not always reflected credit on their race. King Vidor's *Hallelujah,* which was well received in Paris, did not appreciably extend the horizon. *An Imitation of Life* is a step in this direction, despite its several defects.

On seeing the picture, I noted that the most successful plays concerning the

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The Negro and Union Labor

IN the April issue, THE CRISIS offered five dollars for the best letter received on the topic "The Negro and Union Labor." First prize goes to the following letter from Wesley Curtright of New York City:

The history of Negroes and Union Labor presents a paradox and a lesson. White labor in the United States has sought to gain the advantages of collective bargaining without giving up its cherished prejudices and ideology. For the Negro this has meant practical exclusion. White union labor has resented his competition, yet generally denied him admittance.

Negro workers have shown themselves as susceptible to organization as workers of any other group. As early as 1850 they were attempting to form unions. They have sought admittance to the white unions from their very inception. And when denied this they have usually attempted organizations of their own.

A succession of national labor organizations, including the American Federation of Labor, have started off with frank recognition of the Negro, and promises of equal treatment. They have not lived up to these promises. Result: their strikes have failed, and they have, one by one, fallen under the influence of political demagogues, and finally disintegrated. Such is the verdict of history.

Two questions ordinarily confront Negroes with respect to Labor unions: (1) Shall I join the union? and (2) Shall I scab?

The proper answer to the first question would appear to be always in the affirmative, providing the union does not exclude him. But it is not so simple to the average Negro. He knows that many unions are dominated by racketeers, who exact exorbitant dues and fees. Nor can he be sure of receiving even the consideration accorded the whites. Often he finds himself torn between a hostile boss and a hostile union, with little to choose from either way.

Theoretically, the answer to the second question should always be an emphatic No. We are all agreed that cutting the throats of one's fellow-workers is only a form of sharpening the knife for one's own throat. Yet Negroes have received much employment by scabbing, which otherwise, it seems likely, they would have been forever barred from.

The usual solution offered is that Negroes, where the unions exclude them, should form their own unions. But of course this is only a partial solution. It cannot be applied to industries in which Negroes have never obtained a foothold.

Finally, the answer of the Negro worker to his proscription by white union labor is that he must be accepted, either as a menace or as a brother. If union labor is to succeed in this country, it will have to organize Negroes on equal terms with whites. Otherwise, it invites its own destruction, as well as that of the Negro. Let us hope that our white fellow-workers will prefer success.

Wesley Curtright
248 W. 112th Street, Apt. 12
New York City

An excellent letter was submitted by David Ross of Newark, N. J. Its only weakness is that while it advocates joining of A. F. of L. unions by Negroes and united action by them and whites to overthrow the present A. F. of L. bureaucracy, it ignores completely the fact that numerous national and international unions bar Negroes from membership. Thus the form of action advocated by Mr. Ross would be impossible in many vocations. We quote, however, a paragraph:

"If we were to examine American labor history, or that of all other nations, we would find that substantial economic gains have been made 'only' when the ranks of labor were united in a union which fought militantly for its demands. We have the living proof in the titanic struggles of the last year in Minneapolis and Toledo. On the other hand, if we want an example of what happened when the ranks of labor were divided and split, what better example than Hitler's crushing victory in Germany? It is only when the workers, black and white, are united in two-fisted, red-blooded unions, democratically run by the workers themselves, that the status of the working class will be improved."

From Olive View, Calif., James R. Derry writes:

"Despite occasional reforms, progress as well as human welfare are at the mercy of the God, Profit. Profit, moreover, is based upon scarcity. Witness the recent crop and livestock destruction in order to create a scarcity to raise prices to make a profit to thus bring back prosperity. The Negro worker at the end of the line knows well what scarcity means. Union Labor on the other hand, is interested mainly in raising the living conditions and wealth of the workers. However, in its present role, Union Labor attempts to ignore the two principles essential to its success. First, there must be unionization of all workers regardless of race or sex and, second, there must be constant striving toward a substantial goal."

Joseph B. Semper, of New Haven, Conn., says:

"The problem of unionization and labor organization is still complicated by racial feeling to the advantage of the employer who leaves not a twig unturned through tradition and the press to keep this chaotic condition alive. White unions exclude the Negro on one hand and despise him for strike breaking on the other. Negroes acted collectively and broke the steel strike so they can break any other strike until their power is recognized."

A voice from the South, Henry George Washington, of Cuthbert, Ga., speaks:

"Unfortunately, the Negro worker cannot look upon union labor with much satisfaction in its present state. First, he is expressly excluded by the constitutions of a great number of labor unions. Secondly, even in such labor unions that admit Negro workers as members, there is, as a rule, open discrimination manifested against them. Thirdly, Negro workers have been harassed by labor unions who intend to deprive them of one of their best occupational fields."

Anti-lynching Bill

(*Continued from page* 175)

Americans to insist that the small minority of southern senators, whose states have supplied the great majority of victims of lynching, recede from their position against even the taking of a vote to consider the bill. Walter White, Secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., on May 6 forwarded to the President his resignation from the Advisory Council to the Government of the Virgin Islands in protest against the President's silence.

Finally, a new development in American history took place when four southern senators broke the "solid south" by voting at one time or another against adjournment, while a fifth senator, Rush D. Holt of West Virginia, was unequivocally pledged to the bill. Senator Matthew M. Neely of West Virginia not only voted consistently against adjournment but on May 2 delivered, as a southerner, one of the most moving addresses heard in the Senate in many years against the filibuster and those who hide behind constitutionality as an excuse for voting against bills of this character.

The fight is not ended, but only just begun.

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

Anti-lynching Bill

Although the Costigan-Wagner bill is side-tracked temporarily, members and friends of the N.A.A.C.P. are urged to keep up the agitation for this measure. First, if your senator was one of those who voted for adjournment of the senate and thus put the Costigan-Wagner bill on the shelf, write him asking for an explanation of his action. It is important not to threaten senators in these letters, but to simply state your great interest in the bill and ask him to explain why he voted to pass it over. Ask that he cooperate to bring the bill up for action again at this session. Second, write President Roosevelt expressing disappointment that the bill was not passed and asking him to use his influence to see that it is brought up again at this session.

New strategy is being devised to get the bill before Congress once more, but the steps for the present cannot be made public. The senators who voted for adjournment are: Adams, Colo.; Ashurst, Ariz.; Bachman, Tenn.; Bailey, N. C.; Bankhead, Ala.; Barkley, Ky.; Bilbo, Okla.; Black, Ala.; Borah, Idaho; Brown, N.H.; Bulow, S.D.; Byrd, Va.; Byrnes, S. C.; Caraway, Ark.; Clark, Mo.; Connally, Tex.; Couzens, Mich.; Dieterich, Ill.; Duffy, Wisc.; Fletcher, Fla.; Frazier, N. D.; Glass, Va.; Gore, Okla.; Harrison, Miss.; Hatch, N. M.; Hayden, Ariz.; King, Utah; Lewis, Ill.; Lonergan, Conn.; McGill, Kan.; McKellar, Tenn.; Norris, Neb.; O'Mahoney, Wyo.; Overton, La.; Pittman, Nev.; Pope, Idaho; Radcliffe, Md.; Robinson, Ind.; Russell, Ga.; Sheppard, Tex.; Shipstead, Minn.; Smith, S. C.; Thomas, Okla.; Thomas, Utah; Trammell, Fla.; Truman, Mo.; Wheeler, Mont.; Murphy, Ia.

Meanwhile, funds are needed to meet the deficit created by carrying on this campaign and to enable it to continue. They should be sent to the national office, 69 Fifth Avenue.

Hollins Case Victory

As THE CRISIS is about to go to press, word comes that the United States supreme court has reversed the conviction of Jess Hollins of Salpulpa, Okla., who had been sentenced to death on a charge of criminal assault. The argument in the Hollins case was made before the supreme court April 29 by Dean Charles H. Houston of the N.A.A.C.P. legal committee, who stressed the point that Negroes had been unconstitutionally excluded from jury panels in Oklahoma. Hollins has been defended by the N.A.A.C.P. since August, 1932. His original conviction was in December, 1931, at a "trial" held in the basement of the jail where he was not permitted to have a lawyer. The I.L.D. originally had charge of the case, but gave it up three days before Hollins was scheduled to be executed on August 18, 1932. The N.A.A.C.P. branches in Oklahoma took charge of the case with the assistance of the national office and employed two Oklahoma white attorneys who carried the case up to the supreme court, where Dean Houston took charge. The Hollins case will be sent back to Oklahoma for a new trial.

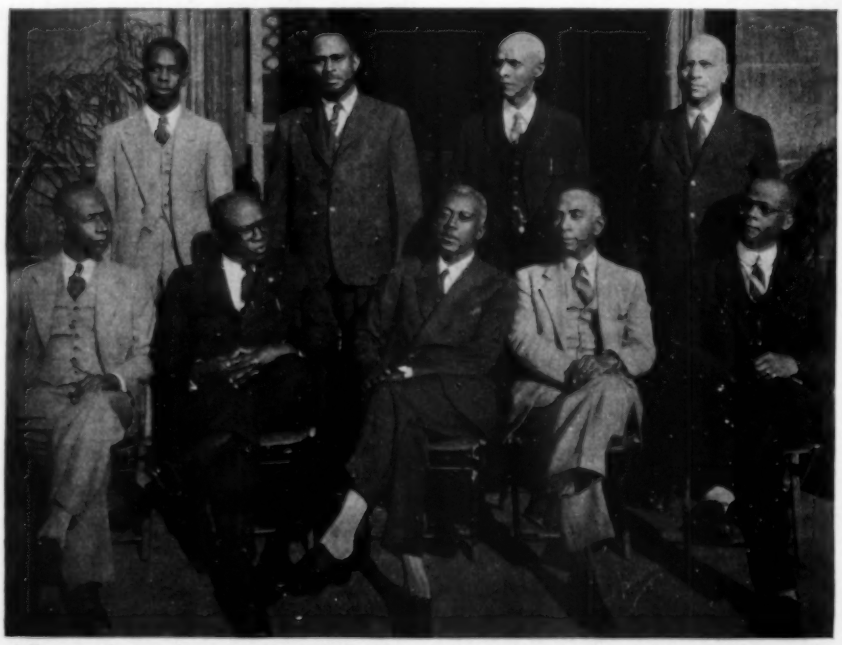
First Lady Speaks

The high point of the spring membership campaign of the District of Columbia branch was reached Sunday, April 14 when Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt addressed a capacity audience in the Metropolitan A.M.E. church in Washington. Mrs. Robert G. McGuire, president of the branch, introduced Mrs. Roosevelt. Mrs. Roosevelt said: "What all of us need to do is to work for equality of recognition for work which is rendered, and equality of opportunity regardless of race, color or creed."

The speaker expressed approval of the work done by the N.A.A.C.P. throughout the years. She stressed the necessity of equal educational opportunities and equal opportunities for employment and advised colored people to make a thorough study of government and to use their ballots intelligently for the advancement not only of their race, but for the good of the nation as a whole.

On to St. Louis

Some of the branches in Minnesota, Louisiana, Ohio and Indiana already have elected their delegates and alternates to the 26th Annual Conference which will meet in St. Louis, Missouri, June 25–30 inclusive. Other branches are urged to elect their delegates and have a good representation in St. Louis. Those branches which have not done so are requested to send immediately to the National Office any suggestions they have for topics which ought to be included in the daytime sessions of the Conference. Several branches within a radius of three hundred miles of St. Louis are organizing automobile parties to attend the Conference. Indications are that because of the central location of St. Louis the attendance will be one of the best in recent years. Extensive



Officers and committee members of the New Orleans, La., branch: Sitting, left to right: A. E. Perkins, Dr. A. W. Brazier, James E. Gayle, president; Dr. B. F. Easter, J. S. Tyner; standing, left to right: H. M. Hayes, C. C. Valle, John D. Brown, H. E. Braden, Sr.

preparations are being made by the St. Louis branch to welcome the delegates.

Riot Testimony

James E. Allen, president of the New York branch, testified April 20 before a sub-committee of the Mayor's Commission investigating the Harlem riot of March 19. Mr. Allen submitted data collected by the N.A.A.C.P. on the exclusion of colored laborers and mechanics from employment on public works projects in New York City and vicinity.

Educational Work

James E. Gayle, president of the New Orleans, La., branch, was the guest speaker April 22 before a large audience at the First Evangelical church (white) in 1831 Carondelet Street, Dr. Norman A. Maunz, pastor. The meeting was sponsored by the Altar Society of the church. Mr. Gayle presented the subject "Present Day Interracial Problems and What We Can Do To Help Solve Them." The pastor, Rev. Maunz, stated that the First Evangelical church was one hundred and ten years old and that it was organized by white indenture slaves who migrated from Germany years ago, and that he thought this group should have a sympathetic attitude toward interracial problems. This was the first time in the history of the church that a Negro had been asked to speak in this institution. Mr. Gayle stated that interracial understanding is imperative in this day and that the church must become more interracial minded and that our religion must be more than acceptance of a creed or loyalty to an organization. The Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill was presented and discussed very freely. The younger group showed a great deal of interest in the local problems as they affect Negroes in the Southland. There were many questions asked relative to the political status of the Negro and his attitude toward the differential wage scale.

Branch News

Dr. Charles M. Reid, former president of the **Jamaica, L. I.**, branch, who spoke recently at the Union Congregational Church in Richmond Hill, N. Y., to a white group of high school students on "Race Relations" received a contribution from them of $3. Others from the branch that accompanied Dr. Reid were Mrs. Romeo L. Dougherty and Mr. and Mrs. Saunders. The editor of the Long Island *Daily Press* has printed an apology for the appearance of the word "nigger" in a cross word puzzle published in his paper recently. Protest was made by the branch. The paper explained that the puzzle was supplied it and other newspapers by the Central Press Association, a syndicate, and that it was inserted automatically without inspection as are all syndicated features. The annual membership drive will start May 1. Mrs. Sybil Powers is chairman of the drive.

The interest manifested by the young high school students, moved Dr. J. R. Ware, of the **Port Huron, Mich.**, branch to offer a prize for the best biographical sketch of an outstanding Negro of past or present, for the March meeting. Reverend L. L. Lawrence offered second prize. The following entered the contest: Ila Hazely, "Booker T. Washington"; Annie Lee Sherrill, "Paul Lawrence Dunbar"; Willie Mae Banks, "Professor W. H. Crogman"; Willie Lee Mooty, "Professor George W. Carver"; Mary King, "Frederick Douglass."

First prize was awarded to Mary King; second to Annie Lee Sherrill. The entertainment committee, under the supervision of Mrs. Gussie Turner, Mrs. J. R. Ware, and Mrs. Robert M. Evans, turned over to the branch $5.00, their pledge towards the cost of the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill printing expenses. The branch is looking forward to the visit of Field Secretary William Pickens, May 15 and 16. Leroy King, secretary of the local branch, assumed responsibility of handling THE CRISIS, till the services of a high school pupil are secured.

Mrs. F. Katherine Bailey, president of the Indiana State Conference, was elected second vice-president of the Federal Council of Church Women which met at Marion, Ind., recently. She is the first colored woman to serve on the executive board of the Council.

Following the recent statement of Arthur S. Willard, president of the University of Illinois, that he "was opposed to any discrimination on account of color," the Illinois State Conference of Branches presented to President Willard and the trustees of the university, specific cases where colored students had been denied the right to live in university dormitories, the Y.W.C.A. and admission to classes in military science. The matter of the attitude of athletic heads concurring in the "unwritten law" that no colored student should be allowed to play on the basket ball team and the general attempt to discourage participation in football was also brought to the head of the university with a request for an investigation.

Memoranda was also sent to interested legislators in the event that President Willard was not inclined to cause an investigation and effort to change the policies in respect to colored students. The conference last year sought to have the major political parties to name a qualified colored person as a candidate for trustee for the University in the November election, but both parties failed to respond. State legislators have manifested an interest in this situation at the state university which has existed for a number of years and for the past two years the N.A.A.C.P. has been collecting evidence and seeking an investigation which will once for all clear up the whole matter of discrimination at the state institution on account of race and color.

Under the auspices of the **Little Rock, Ark.**, branch John P. Davis, secretary of the Joint Committee on National Recovery, spoke at a public meeting in that city March 7. Mr. Davis' speech dwelt with the plight of the Negro under the New Deal.

The Woman's Auxiliary of the **Kansas City, Mo.**, branch presented Miss Etta Moten, contralto, in a benefit recital in that city March 5.

An original play written by Miss Louise Ryder and Warren Vann of Teachers' College, West Chester, Pa., was given at the meeting of the **Media, Pa.**, branch March 5. Special music for the occasion was under the direction of Mrs. Magnolia Butler and Miss Ryder.

The **Grand Rapids, Mich.**, branch, at its regular monthly meeting, acting upon complaint of Mr. and Mrs. Bennett of Dunham street, elected a committee to call a mass meeting protesting the candidacy of Harry C. White for City Commissioner of the third ward. Mr. White, according to the complaint, was instrumental in protesting the sale of a certain piece of property to the Bennetts because of their being Negroes. Mr. White was invited to attend the mass meeting to defend the charge against him. He accepted the invitation, informing the body that he stood in favor of residential segregation for Negroes eight years ago, further stating that he would again do the same under similar circumstances. The majority of Negro residents of Grand Rapids lives in the third ward. Their votes, if used wisely, can affect all city elections. The branch went on record as bitterly opposing the candidacy of White.

Following a talk by James E. Gayle, president of the **New Orleans, La.**, branch, the New Orleans Ministerial Union adopted a resolution endorsing the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill.

The total memberships in the **Springfield, Mass.**, branch passed the 500 mark, the highest in several years, with the conclusion there in April of a drive conducted under the direction of Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin. The May meeting of the branch was a testimonial to the Reverend W. N. DeBerry in recognition of his recent appointment to the Board of Public Welfare.

Miss Clarissa Gibson, superintendent of the Visiting Nurses Association, was the speaker at the April meeting of the **Scranton, Pa.**, branch. Musical selections were given by the Boys' Glee Club. Mrs. Zerobia J. Dorsey presided.

A total of 1,200 new members were received into the **New Orleans, La.**, branch during its membership drive which closed early in April. James E. Gayle is president. The drive was under the general supervision of Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, regional field secretary. A picture of the officers is shown in another column.

The **Gary, Ind.**, branch had Roscoe Conkling Simmons, well known orator, as a speaker at its meeting April 26. Mr. Simmons reviewed recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court affecting colored people. Alfred M. Hall is president of the branch.

The **Hartford, Conn.**, branch launched its spring membership campaign April 15 at a mass meeting at which Miss Mary White Ovington was the speaker. At the regular April meeting William J. Ryan, superintendent of the Welfare Department was the guest speaker.

Claude O. McCockran of New Philadelphia was chosen to direct a membership campaign of the **Dover, O.**, branch. It began May 15 and will continue through June 1. Frank L. Cephus, David Favors, W. Melvin Chandler, Thomas Latter, and B. F. Woods were appointed captains of teams. Mr. Cephus was elected a delegate to the annual conference in St. Louis in June and the Reverend George C. Thomas was named alternate. B. F. Woods was appointed agent for THE CRISIS.

William Pickens, national field secretary, opened a spring campaign of the **Marion, Ind.**, branch April 14. It was continued into the month of May.

The **Media, Pa.**, branch had a Health Education program in April at which films on the care of the eyes and on regular physical examinations were shown. The lecture was given by Charles Kurtzhalz, secretary of the Delaware County Tuberculosis Association. The program was arranged by Dr. Lances McKnight. Reverend G. Fields is president of the branch. Sebastian Hunter sang a solo.

Dean Pickens and Mrs. Katherine Bailey of Marion, Ind., were the principal speakers at a meeting of the **South Bend, Ind.**, branch in April.

Thomas Farrow was named campaign director for the spring membership drive of the **New Castle, Pa.**, branch. He has the

following captains as assistants: H. Bradley, W. Smith, R. Mitchell, Dr. Garnett, Miss R. Brown, Mrs. B. Dillard and F. Farrow.

The **Salt Lake City, Utah,** branch sponsored a Home Health Day program April 1 as a part of the local observations of National Negro Health week.

The **New Rochelle, N. Y.,** branch has suggested the names of Dr. C. P. McClendon, John A. Ross, Mrs. Portia Nickens, Dr. Leon Scott and Dr. Uriel Gunthorpe for consideration of the mayor in filling two vacancies on the board of education.

A baby contest will be held in June by the **Jersey Citv, N. J.,** branch and an oratorical contest for high school students also will be sponsored. The branch is supporting the protest amendment to the state Civil Rights bill. The Reverend E. P. Dixon is president.

The **Decatur, Ill.,** branch is awarding a trip to the annual conference in St. Louis to the winner of a story writing contest limited to pupils of the eighth grade and up. The topic for the stories must be on some phase of health.

The **Mount Vernon, N. Y., Yonkers, N. Y.,** and **New Rochelle, N. Y.,** branches held a joint forum meeting in New Rochelle, May 5.

A. Phillip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, was the speaker for the **Princeton, N. J.,** branch March 24, using as his subject "The Negro in the present economic crisis."

A one day conference sponsored by the branches of the N.A.A.C.P. in Indiana was held at Anderson, April 17 with delegates from many cities in the state in attendance. Dean Pickens delivered the principal address at the closing evening session. The morning and afternoon sessions were given over to discussions of organization of the Association's work and to problems faced by colored people in Indiana.

Dr. Arthur L. Chapman, 31, who was a charter member and president of the **Rahway, N. J.,** branch, died April 19 after a brief illness. Dr. Chapman was a graduate of the University of Vermont and Meharry Medical College. He had been practicing in Rahway two years and had been appointed city physician last January.

Mrs. Olivia Taylor, former president of the **Indianapolis, Ind.,** branch, died in Birmingham in April. Mrs. Taylor was the widow of C. I. Taylor who owned and managed the old ABC Baseball Club of Indianapolis. Following her husband's death, Mrs. Taylor also managed the club for many years, but had been making her home in Birmingham.

R. J. Simmons, president of the **Duluth, Minn.,** branch has been elected delegate to the annual conference in St. Louis and Henry Williams, secretary, was selected as alternate.

The **New York, N. Y.,** branch is supporting the move to merge the Harlem Evening High Schools for men and women. The branch also has formally requested the board of education to condemn any form of racial discrimination enforced by an outside agency or unit or member of a unit connected with the school system. This request grew out of the refusal of the New Rochelle Y.M.C.A. to allow a colored member of the Stuyvesant High School swimming team of New York City to enter the pool in competition against the swimming team of the New Rochelle High School.

The one day session of the Illinois State Conference of the N.A.A.C.P. was one of the most successful in the history of the state organization at Evanston, Ill., on Sunday, May 5, at the Masonic Temple, 1229 Davis Street. The morning session brought together delegates from all over the state of Illinois, **Rockford** branch of the Association bringing 55 delegates which completely filled two buses. Branch reports showed a new spirit among Negroes throughout the state under the leadership of the N.A.A.C.P. The University of Illinois, public parks and institutions, adverse legislation, the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission and other problems involving discrimination have been the focal points in branch activities.

The morning session through a number of resolutions pledged the Conference to start at once the organization of the state for the purpose of defeating Senator William Dieterich of Illinois because of his attitude in respect to the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill. The bill of Congressman Arthur Mitchell was condemned as unnecessary and unwanted. The Jim Crow alliance of Provident Hospital and the Medical School of the University of Chicago was condemned and protest filed with both trustees of Provident Hospital and the University of Chicago. The practice of discrimination on the part of stores like Sears-Roebuck, Binchley's and others throughout the state was considered and plans drawn for both suits and boycott.

The annual membership drive of the **Ohio Valley, Pa.,** branch located in the two sister towns Coraopolis and Sewickley, Pa., opened March 18 and closed May 20. As a feature of the campaign, the branch asked the ministers of the communities to cooperate by devoting one Sunday service during the period to the work of the N.A.A.C.P. Each minister was asked to preach a sermon on "The Future Outlook, Race Progress, Race Unity" or some similar subject. The church choirs were asked to render appropriate selections from Negro music and that a member of the branch should be granted permission to make remarks in behalf of the Association. The results to date have been one hundred per cent acceptance on the part of the ten ministers.

The Ohio Valley branch has also been busy distributing pertitions to influence public sentiment towards supporting the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill. One of the twenty-five petitions contained the signatures of eighteen white medical doctors.

The branch also sent telegrams to Senators Guffey and Davis, stating that 450 citizens of Sewickley Valley urged them to prevent a filibuster on the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill and to enforce the passage of the same. Congressman Twing Brooks of Sewickley, Pa., was also reminded that his support was expected to aid and influence other representatives in the passage of the anti-lynching bill.

Mrs. Daisy Lampkin of Pittsburgh, Pa., field worker for the Association, was the guest speaker at a membership committee meeting of the Ohio Valley branch April 17, at the home of Mrs. Ellis Blockson, Sewickley, chairman of the membership committee.

The annual membership campaign of the **Philadelphia, Pa.,** branch was inaugurated on Wednesday evening, May 8, at a dinner held at the Southwest Y.W.C.A. William Pickens, field secretary, addressed the 100 workers who were present. The goal set by the branch is 2,000 members.

An anti-lynching bill was introduced in Congress by Representative Stack of Pennsylvania at the request of the Philadelphia branch.

A letter was sent by the secretary of the branch protesting against the use of the expression "personable darkies" in the columns of the Philadelphia *Inquirer,* when referring to a group of colored musicians.

Dr. J. W. Shirley addressed the April meeting of the branch on the topic "Facing Facts and Dealing With Facts."

The branch has become a member of the Community Council of Philadelphia, an organization composed of the leading welfare and social agencies of the city. Delegates from the branch were present at the spring conference of the Council which was held May 1 at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel.

Miss Edna Morgan, representing the **Staten Island, N. Y.,** branch, won the first prize in the finals in the Metropolitan district oratorical contest May 3 at the Curtis high school in Staten Island. Her subject was "Segregation and Discrimination." Inasmuch as Staten Island had won first prize last year, this entitled the branch to permanent possession of the Governor Herbert H. Lehman trophy. Another trophy will be secured for future competition. The Staten Island branch received the silver cup and Miss Morgan received the gold medal.

The second prize, a silver medal, was won by Miss Winifred Vanderlip, of New Rochelle, speaking on "Locked Doors," discussing the barriers against colored people. And the third prize, a bronze medal, was won by Miss Sarah Ross, also of New Rochelle, speaking on "Race Consciousness."

Miss Martha Hall, representing the New York branch, won fourth place on "The Negro's Contribution to American Civilization." Kenneth M. Phipps won fifth place, speaking on "Life of Frederick Douglass." All of the seven who did not win one of the first three places were given a copy of James Weldon Johnson's book "Negro Americans, What Now?" and ranked as fourth prize winner.

Five branches entered two contestants each. Frank Hankinson, assistant superintendent of schools of Staten Island, was the guest speaker. There were brief remarks by Daniel Butts, president of the branch, and Mrs. Edna Henry, president of the women's auxiliary. The Wandering Boy's Quartet rendered music for the occasion. Dean William Pickens presided.

Lotilda Newton, who spoke on "The Negro is Still in Bondage," won the oratorical contest sponsored by the **Jamaica, N. Y.,** branch April 26. She also represented the branch in the finals that were held May 3 at Staten Island, together with Miss Edythe Abramson. Rose Irene Long, whose subject was "What the Negro Has Achieved," was adjudged the second best, but was not eligible for the finals due to her college work at Brooklyn College. Miss Abramson, whose topic was "American Freedom's Clearest Voice," was third. Contestants receiving honorable mention included Estelle Williams and Beatrice Lewis. Other contestants were Burnette Bumpers, Ethel Jenkins, Winifred Long and Sinclair Jeter. The judges were Mrs. Edna J. Henry, from Staten Island; Aubrey Bowser, Brooklyn; and Percy E. Greene, Corona.

The annual membership drive of the branch started May 1 with Mrs. Sybil Powers as chairman.

Book Review

ARAMINTA by Eva Knox Evans. Minton, Balch and Company, 1935. $2.00.

I think Araminta is one of the most delightful books I have ever read. It is short, simple and very amusing.

It is the story of a girl, Araminta, who goes to the country to visit her "Gran'ma" and "Gran'pa." There she has many thrilling and intriguing adventures with a little boy she meets, by the name of John George Jerome Anthony. I enjoyed it very much and though I didn't rush, I finished it in one night, so excited to see what came next and how it ended.

JANE WHITE

Trade Unionism

(*Continued from page 167*)

another person and in due course of time, he has seen that friendship turn into enmity and opposition. A landlord today might be a tenant tomorrow. His attitude toward the question of high or low rents will be determined not by "friendship" but by his interest either as a landlord or as a tenant.

Friendship and Self-Interest

Mr. Sopkin himself has proved how meaningless is "friendship" in matters involving one's self-interest. Recently he moved one of his plants to New England where he employs white garment workers. The several hundred "loyal" Negro girls in Chicago who were put out of employment as a result, can eloquently testify as to the value of Mr. Sopkin's "friendship" and "loyalty" to them. Mr. Evans might be interested in knowing that the Sopkin shop at Fall River is now being organized; and that no such opposition is being met with there as characterized our efforts to rescue the "loyal" Negro girls in Chicago from the slave condition under which they work for Sopkin. Some light is thrown on these conditions by the following excerpts from a letter I recently received from one of the girls working for Sopkin: . . . "In the 46th Street shop is a sign threatening the workers if they do not produce more dresses" . . . "The boss in the 52nd St. shop investigates the political views of the girls and their parents and if found to be radical the girls are discharged. . . . "Posted on the walls of the 43rd St. shop are rules demanding that the girls be at their machines five minutes before the power is turned on. They must notify the forelady five minutes before a bundle is finished. All packages are searched before the girls leave the shop at night. . . ." And as if to answer the claim of the open-shoppers that "A Company union denotes the absence of warring factions" this girl also writes, ". . . It is alright for Mr. Sopkin to spend money for parties and dances to fool the public, but we know it is our money that pays the bills. Each girl buys a dress from him; he gets rid of his stock, we dance and he makes the profit. Recently a vote of the girls was taken to determine whether they preferred his company union or to join the legitimate union of garment workers. Those who voted for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union were discharged. . . ."

Lastly, the claim is made that Negroes should be opposed to all unions because some unions discriminate against Negroes. To follow this line of reasoning to its logical conclusion these people should also argue that because the United States is a republic in which Negroes are maltreated, lynched and brutalized; therefore, Negroes should be opposed to all republics and favor monarchies instead. Or, because those who lynch us claim to be Christians, Negroes should therefore abandon Christianity and embrace Buddhism.

However, the assininity of these simple-minded people extends beyond the bounds of tolerance when they fail not only to recognize the wholesome principle upon which trade unionism is founded, but especially when they include in their opposition those labor unions that have a long and honorable tradition of freedom from race or color prejudice, such as the I.L.G.W.U. It is a well known fact that the Negro workers in the I.L.G.W.U. enjoy every privilege and share every responsibility with their white fellow members. On the various executive boards, grievance boards and other important governing bodies of many units of the I.L.G.W.U. in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, St. Louis and elsewhere are many Negro girls. In a good many instances Negro girls are chairladies in shops where white members are in the majority.

Must Organize Labor

In the LaMode Shop in Chicago—of which the Negro apostles of the open shop so often speak—are several Negroes, two of whom are capable, intelligent members of the executive board of Local No. 76. When the owners of the LaMode Shop, after hiring Negro girls as scabs, sought to discriminate against them after the strike was won, it was the manager of Local No. 76, Mr. Sam. Glassman, who took the case of these Negro girls before the Regional Labor Board and won for them a signal victory including an increase in pay, although some of those girls were reluctant to become union workers. Local No. 76 was responsible for the discontinuance in that shop of the practice of herding all the Negro girls together in one compartment. In all the activities of the I.L.G.W.U. whether cultural, educational, recreational or otherwise, Negro garment workers take part with their fellow members on the basis of absolute equality.

At this time when the responsible leaders of American labor are learning that labor cannot hope to maintain the gains already made, nor to extend them, so long as Negro labor remains outside the ranks of the organized labor movement, is certainly not the time for Negroes to preach anti-union sermons. It should be borne in mind that, notwithstanding the depression, there are more organized Negro workers today in New York City and other large industrial centers than at any time in the past. The Negro evidently is learning the fact that, if we are ever to enjoy our rights as citizens we must first secure economic strength through organized action as workers and consumers. Thus, these ignorant and purchasable Negroes who brazenly bray against trade union action for Negroes at this time, are not only serving the interest of open-shoppers, but they are doing a disservice to their race. Such action is tantamount to a gross betrayal of the Negro wage earners of this generation and of generations yet unborn.

As Negroes we cannot hope for victory in our fight for civil rights and social justice until we lift our labor power out of the swamps of unorganized, under-paid, abused and unprotected workers. The weapon with which to achieve our liberation from these evils is organization both on the industrial and political fields. The sooner Negro leaders and others learn this sound and wholesome lesson and act upon it, the sooner will we come out of the valley of oppression to walk upon the highlands of equality with all God's children.

Vincent-Machado

(*Continued from page 174*)

Haiti, which court had confirmed the judgment of the military court. That seemed to put a better stamp on the procedure until I learned by further inquiry (not from the President) that the men's hopes were lost before the Supreme Court, not on the merits of the issues involved, but on a mere technicality: that the appeal was not properly based, —that the declaration of appeal had not been properly formulated in the military court. Rather, then, had the Supreme Court refused to act on the appeal, and by its inaction had consigned the would-be appellants to their fate. And since the military court had been "dissolved" and was no longer a court, the case could not even be remanded for rectification of the error.

President Vincent is not a disagreeable person to meet and talk with: he is a charming gentleman, a bachelor. But his ministers and henchmen, with some of whom we talked, are keeping the real situation from his ears, in their zeal to keep their jobs. Certainly, being President in Haiti is about the nicest thing in that island, and the next best thing is being a minister of the party in power. Economically the island is very poor: the visitor sees at a glance how the Roosevelt administration, beset by depression at home, could be at least persuaded to "generously" give up the chief responsibility for human life in Haiti. Mr. Vincent noted progress along economic lines: a great

advance in the banana trade and a prospect for advancing the export of the other incomparable fruits of Haiti. But his ambition to be re-elected, which has really put these young men in prison, may also destroy these commercial prospects. Other powerful leaders do not want him. The marines are gone, but the American Financial Adviser is still there, collecting for American creditors, and if opposing Haitian factions start cutting each other's throats with their machetes, he may yell for the marines to come and help him to protect the money bags. Some devoted Haitian patriots with whom I conversed, are even refusing to improve their properties or engage in any new economic ventures, because of uncertainty in the immediate future. And the indescribable enthusiasm of their celebration for *l'independence* on January 1 showed that the untaught masses still love their ideal of liberty even though it may be an economic burden to them. The traditions begun by the noble and humane Toussaint, and furthered by the very tigerishness of Dessalines and the iron discipline of Christophe, are still strong in the soul of Haiti.

Imitation of Life

(*Continued from page* 182)

Negro—*Emperor Jones, Porgy, The Green Pastures, Stevedore, etc.*—were all written by members of the other race. The explanation often invoked, that the Negro lacks objectivity when writing about himself, cannot be accepted, for *Stevedore* and this film are, in some respects, as partisan as *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. When the latter was published, there were few Negro authors of talent. Today, however, this excuse is no longer valid, for there are at least a dozen colored writers who should be capable of bettering Fannie Hurst's effort. Seeking the explanation elsewhere, two factors are apparent. The first is that, like the social world Peola envies, American entertainment is almost exclusively an Anglo-Saxon monopoly (non-Negroid would perhaps be a more accurate term). One need only count the number of colored artists on commercial radio programs to be convinced. The highest paid "Negro comedians" are Amos 'n Andy; a Gershwin writes the music for *Porgy;* Octavus Roy Cohen is the accepted author of stories of Negro life. The second factor is that the Negro artist, realizing this condition, often surrenders before the battle, concluding that his offering will be rejected on account of his color. Fortunately, Langston Hughes, E. S. Campbell, Sterling Brown and others are successfully demonstrating the falsity of this defeatist psychology. An *Imitation of Life* should serve as a challenge, and as a reminder that the great Greek epics were written by Homer, the masterpiece of Hebrew literature was recorded by Jews. Paris and the world at large await the great Negro drama.

Rounding Century

(*Continued from page* 181)

among the many children, now grown to ripe old age, who return all during the year and especially for the Labor Day celebration at the institution. Each year the former charges of the home are entertained at this annual field day which is followed by supper. At the last yearly celebration there were 250 guests present.

Summary

The Colored Orphan Asylum at Riverdale-on-the-Hudson is one of the largest homes for dependent and neglected children in the country. It is also one of the oldest of such homes. Although it is a member of the Protestant Federation, the institution is undenominational, and takes active part in the work of the Welfare Council of New York City.

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A great part of the present success of the institution is due to the inspiration of Dr. Pitman. He is proud of the progress the Colored Orphan Asylum has made but he prefers seeing every child in a real home.

League of Colored Peoples Holds Fourth Anniversary

The League of Coloured Peoples of London, which corresponds to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, held its fourth annual meeting March 8 and heard reports of the year's work. Membership has increased from 193 to 352 and a new chapter of 34 members has been organized in Liverpool. The league does not have paid executives or maintain an office headquarters. The treasurer's report showed more than $1,100 received during the year. The league is run

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